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ABSTRACT

This document contains the proceedings of a conference on adult learners conducted to identify barriers that prevent certain groups of adults from participating in lifelong learning opportunities and to deepen understanding of practices and institutional arrangements that better enable such adults to learn. Following a summary of the workshops of the conference (on the topics of immigrants, adults who lack basic skills, and older adults) and policy recommendations, the following papers are included: "Adult Education, Migration, and Immigrant Education" (Roger Diaz de Cossio); "Australia's Migrants and Refugees: Opening the Door to Lifelong Learning" (Susan Chou Allender); "Adult Basic Education: Strategies for Supporting Learning" (Judith A. Alamprese); "Literacy Proficiency and Lifelong Learning" (Stephen Reder); "Learning and Social Participation by Senior Citizens in Japan: Analysis of Major Issues from an International Perspective" (Toshio Ohsako); "Lifelong Learning for All: What Can Be Done to Promote Lifelong Learning?" (Gunther Dohmen); "What Makes a Learning Society? The Culture of Adult Learning in Sweden" (Asa Sohlman); and "Adult Learners: The Social, Cultural, and Economic History Behind Present Attitudes toward Learning in Japan" (Makoto Yamaguchi). Two appendixes contain "Compendium of Contact Persons and Reference Material on Adult Learning" (Tarja Tikkanen) and a list of participants. (Each paper contains references.) (KC)

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ED 433 446

# How Adults Learn

A Conference Held
April 6–8, 1998
Georgetown University Conference Center
Washington, DC

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# How Adults Learn

A Conference Held
April 6–8, 1998
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and
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September 1999

Lifelong learning is a reality for adults for a variety of reasons. Some engage in learning to keep up with rapid societal changes, others to improve their knowledge and skills. As adults continue to live longer, and as full participation in society depends increasingly on access to knowledge and skills, all adults have an increased necessity to continuously learn. Yet, many adults are not able to participate in appropriate education and training activities. The goal of this conference on How Adults Learn was to enable policymakers to draw from practitioners' and researchers' lessons about providing adequate opportunities to meet the growing learning needs of adults. To achieve this goal, the conference and this publication focus on three problem areas: immigrants with low language skills; adults with low educational attainment; and older adults. In addition, the conference explores how technology enhances the learning process.

Publication of this conference report was supported by the U.S. Department of Education. Any opinions, findings, conclusions, or recommendations are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views and policies of the U.S. Department of Education or any other agency of the U.S. government. All references, tables, figures, and text material were supplied by the authors.

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# Preface

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) Education Ministers, when they met in 1996, agreed that "lifelong learning will be essential for everyone as we move into the 21st century and has to be made accessible to all…" The following year OECD Labor Ministers echoing the message and stressing its implications for labor market policy, "…underlined the importance of ensuring that lifelong learning opportunities are broadly accessible to all persons of working age, in order to sustain and increase their employability."

Lifelong learning is already a reality for many adults. Some engage in learning to keep up with the rapid societal changes, others to improve their knowledge and skills. However, we know from work carried out at the OECD and elsewhere that a substantial number of adults do not participate in lifelong learning. Some face barriers to access that arise for a range of reasons, including financial constraints and changing human resource development practices in firms.

But for many adults, barriers to participation arise because the available learning opportunities are poorly adapted to their learning needs or the situations in which they find themselves. If lifelong learning is to be a reality for those adults that are now excluded, there is need for more than simply a policy commitment to serve all: we need more policy and program know-how.

In April 1998, the OECD, in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Education, held an international conference on How Adults Learn. The purpose was to further the understanding of how programs and policies could be better adapted to the learning needs of adults who, so far, have been underrepresented in lifelong learning. In our search for sound answers we sought out the views and experience of researchers, practitioners, and policymakers from different parts of the world.

The results are a rich set of lessons, some provocative questions, and suggestions for new areas of inquiry. I appreciate the willingness of the U.S. Department of Education to publish these results to make them more widely accessible. It is my hope that the publications, together with the OECD's continued work in this area will nourish constructive debate that will lead to expanded opportunities for adult lifelong learning.

T.J. Alexander
Director,
Education, Employment, Labor and Social Affairs
OECD

# Foreword

International perspectives on adult learning are critical for a world growing more interdependent, mobile, and skill-driven. In all countries today adults face the challenge of rapid change in work, communications, and social relations. Many countries serve as home to migrants and refugees who must learn new languages and customs even as they introduce social change to their new lands. Everywhere, longer life spans, in combination with an unprecedented pace of change, threaten to exclude the old from the rewards of progress and widen the gulf between old and young. The International Conference on How Adults Learn, held in April 1998 in Washington, DC, brought together experts from Europe, Asia, and North America, and Australia to reflect on the meaning of these conditions and to identify shared directions for enhancing adult education. The papers published here bear witness to the importance of lifelong learning not merely for the well-being of individual learners but for the good of societies as a whole.

The conference drew upon the collective outlooks of an international group of researchers, teachers, and policymakers. Just as program participants identified many common conditions facing adult learners in a complex world, they also emphasized that all learning takes place in local contexts. Respect for diversity and local nuance—and above all the active participation of learners—appear important for expanding access and success. At the same time, the conference participants saw wisdom in continuing to build international networks by which to share information, instructional know-how, and research results.

The Department of Education was pleased to cosponsor this conference with the OECD and to make the proceedings available to a wider readership.

C. Kent McGuire
Assistant Secretary
Office of Educational Research and Improvement

# Overview of the Conference

**Nevzer Stacey**

**Office of Educational Research and Improvement**

The United States Department of Education and Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) held a conference on adult learners, April 6–8, 1998. The purposes of this conference were to identify barriers that prevent certain groups of adults from participating in lifelong learning opportunities and to deepen our understanding of practices and institutional arrangements that better enable such adults to learn.

# Rationale for the Conference

As formal and informal learning continue to play a growing role in the well being of individuals in society, access to, and participation in, educational programs become increasingly important issues for those adults who might otherwise be left out. There is no question that the 21st century is going to demand more learning from adults. Whether the demand will be to acquire new skills, to stay current with the knowledge environment of one's job, to be a better parent or citizen or a more effective consumer will not make a difference. The bottom line for the learner is that the choices that he or she makes are based on knowledge rather than ignorance and prejudice. Unfortunately, in most countries, including the United States, there are groups of individuals who, for a variety of reasons, are unable to continue learning. Some of these adults have a weak educational foundation, others speak a language other than that of the country in which they live, and still others believe that learning is for the young. In many cases, these categories overlap. Some societies are becoming more economically and socially bifurcated. No democratic society can afford to have a sizable portion of its population unable to keep up with social and economic changes as societies become older and more diverse. Therefore it is important to identify what works for these populations so that we can reach them before they are disenfranchised.

# The Design of the Conference

The conference was convened to discuss the barriers that adults face in participating in educational programs and to identify successful programs that appear to serve them well. The design of the conference reflected the concerns about adults considered most at risk—that is adults who face barriers to continuous learning. The goal was to enable policymakers to draw lessons from practitioners and researchers about providing adequate opportunities to meet the growing learning needs of adults. The conference was organized to bring together practitioners, researchers, and policymakers to discuss how adult education and training providers, workplaces, and community-based learning opportunities might be adapted to meet the needs of those who are most at risk of confronting these barriers.

The conference was structured around three workshops: (1) immigrants with low literacy skills, (2) adults who lack basic literacy skills, and (3) older adults. For each workshop, a scholar prepared an issue paper describing the dimensions of the problem and raised relevant research questions. Practitioners administering successful programs presented papers describing their programs.

In addition to these workshops, the conference offered a number of plenary sessions. Professor Jim Greeno presented a conceptual paper reviewing recent evidence on how adults learn in workplaces, and why many past and current programs and policies were deficient in meeting the learning needs of particular groups of adults. The second plenary session presented emerging themes from the workshops. The third plenary session asked participants to reflect on: "What makes a learning society?" The final plenary session focused on "strategies and policies to support adult learning." The participants included officials from the OECD, UNESCO, the European Commission, the World Bank, and the United States.

## Summary of the Conference: Papers and Policy Recommendations

The conference produced insights based on papers and policy recommendations. Although the purpose of the conference was to draw from practitioners' and researchers' lessons about serving the adult learner, James Greeno was asked to address the question of how adults learn at work. This conceptual paper was commissioned as the first step in reviewing research on learning at work with the follow-up goal of developing a theoretical and conceptual synthesis of learning in settings other than work. Greeno defined learning as "improved participation in interactive systems." Rather than focus on particular subpopulations, Greeno emphasized that all workers do know what matters and are able to participate effectively in the social system. Following Greeno's paper, the conference focused on issues discussed in the workshops.

### Workshop I: Immigrants with Low Literacy Skills

Immigrants, especially those whose language differs from that of the host country, constitute a sizable proportion of at-risk adults. In some countries their unemployment rates are noticeably higher than those of the host population. In all OECD countries adults whose language is not that of the host country are more likely to exhibit low levels of educational attainment and have trouble in accessing work and learning opportunities.

In addition, more care must be taken in identifying the learning needs of immigrants and in planning, monitoring, and evaluating the learning opportunities available to them, since there are considerable differences among the cultural backgrounds, socioeconomic levels, and educational levels of immigrants.

The discussion in this workshop centered on strategies for working with adults who have native literacy and those who do not, as well as strategies for dealing with multiple foreign language groups. Roger Díaz de Cossio of the National Institute of Adult Education, Mexico, presented a paper on "Adult Education, Migration, and Immigrant Education."

He examined the history of immigration in Mexico and the United States. He identified successful programs and commented on the importance of further cooperation between the United States and Mexico in solving significant issues through research and policy discussions. Susan Chou Allender of Adult Multicultural Education Services, Australia, presented a paper entitled, "Australia's Migrants and Refugees: Opening the Door to Lifelong Learning." The paper describes how policy and institutional approaches recognize diversity in the design and delivery of services. It details how policies and practices were developed to overcome learning barriers faced by migrants and refugees and to improve the effectiveness of learning. She describes a number of exemplary curricula and classroom practices. For example, the basic elements of the new adult education model include various modules, such as academic and diversified modules, based on the needs expressed by adults.

## Workshop II: Adults Who Lack Basic Skills

Evidence from research indicates that in all countries the least educated adults receive the least amount of continuing education and training. The least educated also do not perform well in the labor market. The lower the level of educational attainment, the higher the rate of unemployment and the lower the amount of relative earnings. Although some countries may create more jobs that require less education, in the long run it is usually people with more education who do well in the labor market. In high-growth economies, high-technology firms with highly educated workers are the primary sources of productivity increases. Therefore, it is in the best interest, not only of individuals, but also of countries, to have individuals who possess basic academic competencies so they can pursue further education and training when the economies require more educated workers.

Valerie Clements, from the Human Resources Development Canada, moderated the second workshop. This workshop focused on native language speakers with low levels of basic literacy or numeracy skills. Different causes and appropriate strategies were discussed, including the impact of poor early education, learning disorders, and other problems. Stephen Reder of the United States offered a very informative look at the characteristics of the adult learner population, how first-level learners are defined, and how current programs address their needs. Judith Alamprese, also from the United States, presented information on Adult Basic Education (ABE) programs in the United States and identified areas of research. She specifically emphasized the need for research in the relationship between Adult Basic Education program operations and learner progress. Most of the discussion centered on classroom-based programs.

## Workshop III: Older Adults

As life expectancy rises in OECD countries, older adults who are in their final job or retired, are a large and, in most countries, growing share of the total population. Recent surveys have substantiated the fact that low levels of literacy are a significant problem for a large portion of the older adult populations. Data from most OECD countries indicate that the participation rate of adults in education and training is lower for older workers, and there is a sharp decline after age 55. Employers appear to be reluctant to invest in the education and training of older workers. As often noted in the literature, aging persons, as well as society as a whole, will benefit if older adults are valued as sources of wisdom and experience and perceived as vital and productive individuals who continue to learn, grow, and contribute throughout their later lives.

This workshop focused on how learning changes as adults age. The moderator, Ladislav Cerych of the Czech Republic, directed the discussion to the learning needs of a rapidly growing number of older adults. Günther Dohmen of Germany identified reasons for the low participation in education programs of the older population in Germany. He made recommendations for contextual, "real world" learning opportunities that consider older learners' previous knowledge as valuable. Both Günther Dohmen and Toshio Ohsako of Japan stressed the barriers to participation in learning opportunities among the elderly, such as concerns about keeping pace with younger learners, the connection of past experiences with learning to new learning opportunities, lack of transportation, and high course fees. Ohsako pointed out the relationships between the increase in adult participation in learning programs and the Japanese government's budget. One of the most successful projects in the networking project is called, "Volunteers databank for lifelong learning." This project often builds projects for the elderly on various other volunteer projects. Ohsako emphasized the relationships between the increase in adult participation in social learning and health, and the impact on participants' pensions and medical expenses.

In addition to these workshops, two papers were commissioned under the general heading of "What Makes a Learning Society?" Makoto Yamaguchi's paper "Adult Learners," describes in detail the Japanese society, and focuses on social learning. She states that to create a learning society people must be equipped not only with specific skills but also with a positive attitude toward learning from each other. Åsa Sohlman's paper, "The Culture of Adult Learning in Sweden," on the other hand, is more concrete in offering specific recommendations on how Sweden's "learning culture" plans to advance the society to a lifelong learning orientation. The Swedish Parliament established a 5-year program of adult education targeted to the unemployed and those employees who lack high school diplomas. Under this law, municipalities are responsible for arranging most of this investment in adult education. The municipalities prepare the training criteria for their residents and apply for the grants awarded by the government. Both Yamaguchi and Sohlman emphasize the evolution of cultural, economic, and social programs that affect the success of adult learning efforts specific to their countries.

What distinguished this conference from other such meetings was the dialogue that took place among the delegates and the different perspectives that were presented by representatives of international organizations, such as UNESCO, the World Bank, and the European Commission, that comprised the final panel. To capture that discussion, we asked Keith Drake of the University of Manchester, United Kingdom, to summarize it. Drake's intent was not to produce the proceedings of the conference, but to present the reader with an insight into the discussions. Drake noted that the current preoccupation with lifelong learning reflects the fact that governments have failed to learn from past experiences with adult learning. He called for better measurement and management of learning processes outside structured settings, and better assessment of the payoffs for such learning. Finally, he observed that learning societies depend on having healthy initial education, well developed work-based learning, and well developed community-based learning.

Certain themes emerged from the discussions of the conference. These were:

- Adult education as we know it, that is, classroom-based, instruction-led learning is no longer the only appropriate way to teach adults. While the traditional form of teaching and learning still continues to be the most prevalent, it is no longer seen as the most effective.
- New models of teaching adults can be found in communities and workplaces. In such settings, the emphasis has already shifted from adult education to adult learning.
- The traditional model of adult education, where adults are "older children" is no longer viewed as the desirable model for teaching adults. A new model, structuring of the environment as a vehicle for learning, has become the preferred means of teaching adults. The contexts of the adult learner are very different from those of children and from each other. An adult's accumulated knowledge is so large and varied relative to a child's, that the adult learner requires a far greater range of customized treatments.
- There are marked cultural variations among countries with respect to incentives, motivations, and structural opportunities for learning.
- There are a number of innovative practices in adult learning, but little research evidence on what works or how successful innovation can be more systematically applied. What is not measured appears not to be valued.
- We have no idea about what the ramifications of learning societies will be in the information age. Should all workplaces be tied to learning institutions? Should everyone who works get time off to learn? Should learning be available at all locations, like shopping malls and grocery stores, where adults can walk in and learn what they want to learn?
- Self-directed learning is well illustrated in programs that serve older adults.

## Public Policy Recommendations

- The broad range of benefits of adult learning has to be measured and marketed to adults as well as to policymakers. Besides higher earnings, better education for adults can result in improvement of the educational performance of their children, better health, less dependency on the younger generation to negotiate services, greater personal fulfillment, and active community participation.
- Policies should ensure that there is a coherent and effective set of incentives and available opportunities to learn in nonformal as well as formal settings so that disadvantaged adults can make informed and achievable choices about their own learning. Important lessons can be learned from other countries about policies, incentives, and opportunities and their respective outcomes.
- Programs need to focus on how adults learn and should select appropriate curricula and instructional methods. In designing programs, more use should be made of the varied contexts within which adults do most of their learning.
- More interaction needs to take place between practitioners and researchers from within and across countries to replicate exemplary programs, even if such programs cannot be transplanted in their entirety.

The following chapters include the papers presented at the conference, a compendium of resource materials and contacts prepared by Tarja Tikkanen of Finland (appendix A), and the list of delegates (appendix B).

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Learning in and for Participation in Work and Society

James G. Greeno, Penelope Eckert, Susan U. Stucky, Patricia Sachs, and Etienne Wenger

Workshop I: Immigrants

Adult Education, Migration, and Immigrant Education
Roger Díaz de Cossío, National Institute of Adult Education, Mexico

Australia's Migrants and Refugees: Opening the Door to Lifelong Learning.
Susan Chou Allender, Adult Multicultural Education Services, Australia

Workshop II: Adults Who Lack Basic Skills

Adult Basic Education: Strategies for Supporting Learning
Judith A. Alamprese, Abt Associates, Inc.

Literacy Proficiency and Lifelong Learning
Stephen Reder, Portland State University

Workshop III: Older Adults

Learning and Social Participation by Senior Citizens in Japan:
Analysis of Major Issues from an International Perspective
Toshio Ohsako, UNESCO, Institute for Education

Lifelong Learning for All:
What Can Be Done to Promote Lifelong Learning?
Günther Dohmen, German Institute for Adult Education

What Makes a Learning Society?
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Åsa Sohlman, The Commission for Adult Learning, Sweden

Adult Learners:
The Social, Cultural, and Economic History Behind Present Attitudes Towards Learning in Japan
Makoto Yamaguchi, Ryutsu Keizai, University of Japan

Appendix A: Compendium of Contact Persons and Reference Material on Adult Learning
Tarja Tikkanen, University of Jyvaskyla, Finland

Appendix B: List of Participants

# Summary of the Conference

**Keith Drake**

**University of Manchester**
**United Kingdom**

A large and increasing proportion of the adult population of OECD countries now have at least completed upper secondary education. Many of these people have a learning habit and are so situated at work—with a supportive household in a community rich in learning opportunities—that they continue with structured learning throughout their working lives, and after. But of the remaining adults, many do not take advantage of vocational and other opportunities for structured learning. Either they are not moved to do so or they wish to do so but are frustrated by a variety of barriers to learning.

The conference focused on the still-large number of adults whose learning is most inhibited. On average, in the OECD, two out of five adults have less than upper secondary education, with the figure for individual countries ranging from one in seven up to four in five. On an alternative, adult literacy measure of the surveyed populations between one and three quarters failed to attain level 3, the minimum level for coping with the demands of modern work and life. Within this disadvantaged population, the conference focused on: (1) immigrants with poor language skills, (2) adults with few educational attainments, and (3) older adults. Practitioners, researchers, and members of the policy community reviewed together what is known about how such adults learn and the implications of this for the ways in which their learning can be enhanced. Their conclusions were surprising, exciting even. For a covert revolution is in progress.

## The Adult Learning Deficit

In the early 1970s the OECD, UNESCO, and the Council of Europe all campaigned vigorously throughout their constituencies for a new model of education, variously described as Recurrent Education, Lifelong Learning, and Permanent Education. Despite some stylistic variations, all descriptions of the model shared certain basic characteristics. The model called for:

- restructuring education to support learning, by formal and informal means, over an individual's lifespan;
- developing educational potential outside the education system, with more effective linkage between the campus and both the workplace and the community;
- increasing motivation to learn throughout the entire population, with men and women becoming the agents of their own education; and
- promoting equality among generations, classes, and genders.

Over the intervening 25 years, implementation of this extraordinarily ambitious strategy has been piecemeal, very uneven across countries and, overall, it has failed. One of its original proponents (Kallen 1996, 21) points out that the liberating, emancipatory objectives of lifelong learning have made way for more realistic ones which buttress existing social systems. Most education systems remain almost as 'front-loaded' as before, with up to 90 percent of public spending concentrated into the first third of an average lifespan. Wherever it was enacted, paid educational leave has been emasculated. The diplomas of initial education and training still enjoy a quasi-monopoly over access to qualified employment. They correlate strongly with the level of earnings (e.g., Pugsley 1998, 3; OECD 1997a, 257–267), even in a country such as the United States, which is supposed not to have a qualification-driven labor market.

Kallen (1996, 22) judges that "the generous and encompassing concept of lifelong education as it was conceived in the early stages no longer fits the present-day, efficiency-oriented 'no-nonsense' market economies." He notes that the present times favor work-related "lifelong training" programs, preferably private and with little claim on public money; that "corporate learning" advances; and that the only major exception to the low-cost activism of governments is the financing of programs to draw the teeth of socially threatening problems.

The original lifelong learning agenda was too costly to implement, which is another way of saying that its goals did not win sufficient acceptance in competition with other priorities. Oil shocks and crises in public finances, and, more recently, deflationary policies to reduce public debt in Japan, the United States, and the European Union (EU) all provided a rationale for inhibiting the scope of reform. The feasible adult agenda shrank down to initiatives targeting certain highly vulnerable groups and improving the cost-effectiveness of provision.

There is no better illustration of the policy dilemma than the United States. In 1990 it adopted a typically inclusive national Adult Literacy and Lifelong Learning Goal that "by the year 2000, every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship" (Pugsley 1998, 6). Against that, the International Adult Literacy Survey (OECD 1997b) shows that, while at least one quarter of the adult population of all surveyed countries have not achieved that level of knowledge and skills, almost 50 percent of the U.S. adult population had not reached this level by 1994–95. In 1996, only 9 percent of the 44 million American who do not have a high school diploma or equivalent were enrolled in adult basic, secondary or English as a second language programs (Pugsley 1998, 1).

The scale of the adult learning deficit—the gap between a prudent policy goal and the existing knowledge and skills of the adult population—varies considerably from country to country. But, given public priorities in OECD countries, it remains dauntingly large everywhere. According to the OECD (1996, table 8.16), adults in the labor force aged 25–64 who lack and therefore need the most basic education and training (having ISCED 0, 1, and 2) totaled 75.9 million across 18 member states (to take a few examples: 12.5m in the United States, 2.6m in Canada, 9m in France, 4m in Germany, 12.7m in Italy, 8.5m in Spain, 6m in the U.K., 1.9m in the Netherlands, and 1m in Sweden).

# An Inconspicuous Revolution

*For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,*
*Seem here no painful inch to gain*
*Far back, through creeks and inlets making,*
*Comes silent, flooding in, the main.*

Arthur Hugh Clough, *Say not the struggle nought availeth…*

Relief is at hand because, unnoticed by the world at large, the promotion of adult learning is being reconceived and the way it is being done is being revolutionized.

The conference focused on the way that adults learn to better understand how this learning can be promoted among all adults, but, in particular, among immigrants facing a new language, poorly qualified adults, and the oldest workers as well as those no longer at work, for whom work-related purposes are less important, but for whom learning for social integration and leisure is more important. The researchers demonstrated the critical role of situation and disposition in adult learning; practitioners provided evidence of the numerous ways in which this understanding of the special characteristics of adult learning can be converted into new skills and knowledge, and therefore greater productivity, higher earnings, personal fulfillment, and social enrichment for the most marginalized adults.

Participants defined some key characteristics of this reconception:

- Adult education, as we have known it, is ceasing to exist.
- Along the frontier of critical areas, such as the workplace and the community, the emphasis has already shifted from education to learning.
- The school-based model, based on abstraction from the environment, is often being superseded by a new paradigm. Rather than instruction, this uses the environment, for example work or the social life of the elderly, as the main drive of adult learning.
- Informal, experiential learning becomes important at all levels of learning, and the wider sharing of tacit knowledge becomes a conscious goal.

Relative to individual learning, the importance of collective, day-to-day learning is better recognized incentives and motivators come to reflect the highly differentiated dispositions and situations of adult.

Young learners know far less than adults and are more homogeneous in what they do know. Their circumstances are far more similar than is the case with adults. Yet most strategies for promoting adult learning have not escaped the gravitational pull of the initial education model and gone to where the adults are. The young immigrant and the retired native are so different that situated learning will reflect this. It will be messy and the strategies to promote it will be fuzzy by comparison with those appropriate to the learning of young people. In a framework appropriate to the learning needs of adults participation would not usually mean enrollment on a course, as it still does in many cases. As Alan Tuckett and Werner Hermann both argued, there are far more kinds of participation and more contexts of learning than are commonly recognized. People do learn about the things they think are important, and they do a great deal of learning outside of formal instructional settings. Some of the simplest messages from researchers have the most profound impact on practice and programming—eventually.

In their papers and their interventions, participants spelled out the many ways in which adults also differ from each other, and the implications of these differences for the ways in which their learning can be promoted. Within the adult population there are major differences:

- the base of knowledge and skills upon which further learning can build;
- learning styles, reflecting personality as well as experience;
- values;
- social and economic circumstances; and
- goals.

People even become more different from each other the older they get: "we are born as copies and die as originals." So Jim Greeno argued the importance of learning in context, of building knowledge on knowledge at work; Günther Dohmen illustrated the importance of developing into learning opportunities the particular interests of the elderly; and Tuckett argued for "systems which give adults permission to value what they already know and to learn where they are."

## A Three-Legged Stool

The structure of learning opportunities in our societies was likened to a three-legged stool. The largest and strongest leg, which tends to unbalance the whole stool, is the opportunities that occur within the initial education and training system. The second leg is company sponsored, (i.e., on-the-job and off-the-job training sponsored and often provided by employers). The third leg is sometimes less formal, the community-based learning opportunities, some of which are not instruction-led, such as Swedish study circles or the new wave of adult education initiatives in Germany reported by Dohmen.

The second leg is being transformed by a small but growing number of firms scattered throughout OECD countries. These are firms who have realized that knowledge or intellectual capital, comprising the capabilities of employees plus all the components of the organization's capabilities—which do not leave the building at 6 o'clock—constitute the most important resource for them to invest in and to manage. For such firms, instruction-led learning fades into a useful but subsidiary means to develop the organization's capacity to compete. The firm is reconceived as an organism which acquires potentially valuable knowledge from its competitive environment, (i.e., from suppliers, allies, customers, and competitors); teaches this knowledge, (i.e., shares it around the organization in ways which help those who can use it to do so); and finally creates from the knowledge business value (i.e., more competitive goods or services). Surprisingly, this revolutionary anticipation of the full-blown knowledge economy did not figure in conference papers and discussions except for a few oblique pointers. Not only is the way that work is organized being influenced by the need to develop employee's competencies continuously, but the firm is being reorganized as a learning/teaching collective.

The conference did give some consideration to the potential of the workplace as learning context for adults in need of basic skills. But it did not move from its potential for promoting individual learning to the critical interaction between individual and collective learning in organizations which are seeing themselves as knowledge acquirers, creators, and exploiters. Nor did it consider the impact of this revolution on employees with inadequate language or basic skills and on the oldest workers. The key features of this corporate paradigm shift are that:

- the central purpose of the firm's managers is not to economize skills but to build them;
- the importance of tacit knowledge is recognized, and its exploitation is consciously managed where it cannot be codified efficiently; and
- the firm seeks to collectivize what individual employees learn and may reward both learning and teaching behaviors, although these occur in forms which would not be recognized as on-the-job or off-the-job training.

The third leg is likely to be transformed by the paradigm shift from a didactic to an enabling strategy that was most vividly illustrated in Dohmen's review of the ways in which learning occurs naturally throughout life's practice. This is being developed and exploited in Germany as the basis for a permanently continued learning by the elderly. The characteristic features of the enabling strategy as outlined by Dohmen include:

- more individualized and self-directed learning;
- more open learning independent of fixed times and places, more problem solving;
- learning related to real situations and civic commitment, more modular structures of learning, software and retrieval systems; and
- the creative development of a "learning society" with a great variety of stimulating formal and informal learning opportunities.

According to one estimate, firms use only about 20 percent of their intellectual capacity on a day-to-day basis. According to Dohmen, experience with the innovative German programs to help the elderly to develop their knowledge and skills, demonstrates "the extensive, yet largely unexploited potential of elderly people." The developments in the company-based and the community-based 'legs' are clearly variants on the same revolutionary change or paradigm shift. In their different contexts, exploitation of the situated nature of most adult learning is at the heart of the shift.

Tom Alexander pointed out that lifelong learning needs to begin in the school systems, where Taylorism is alive and well. But Taylorism is going to be banished first from the workplace and from the community. It does not matter whether learning is for investment (the firm and its employees) or for pleasure (the community of elderly adults). The new paradigm depends not on scientific management, which economizes skills, but on releasing the creativity of an underdeveloped resource, whether this is a team of workers or a group of older people. The objective is release and empowerment rather than control.

As with most revolutions, there have been precursors among both the researchers and the practitioners. What is new, and was signaled by the conference, is that the shift to a new paradigm has achieved critical momentum and critical mass. It is no longer a secret movement espoused by the few. It is breaking cover.

The implications for practice, research, and policy are profound, and although some were half-addressed in passing, it will require a major intellectual and then logistical effort to address them at all comprehensively.

To take only one of the half-addressed implications, the marketing of such an enlarged and dispersed, activity-based learning movement will tax the ingenuity of the professionals. Marketing cues exist. Implied in the observations of one panelist, Paul Belanger, was a marketing strategy as diverse as the learning contexts that become the fulcrum for adult learning in the new dispensation. Raising basic skills in a 'new' workplace can be marketed in terms of productivity in the commercial economy as well as in terms of personal fulfillment, greater job security, and higher earnings.

At least as important, especially for adults with language deficiencies and for retired adults, is the rationale in terms of the social economy, of the quality of life in the household and the community. Tuckett pointed to the large numbers of adults who do not see themselves as learners but whose active learning is a necessary feature of any learning society. The marketing of an enlarged and dispersed adult learning movement has to be directed not just to those who can help to mainstream it, (i.e., to governments, employers, social organizations, and professionals), but also to the people who can make it an average, everyday reality, the adults themselves.

Many countries, not least the United States, have made real advances in recent years in improving access to what is basically old-style, instruction-led provision, but also in developing the use of new learning technologies—Crossroads Café, a U.S. produced video series serving limited English proficient adults in 35 states and 50 countries is a case in point. Practitioners and researchers in many countries have a better idea of what works than ever before. Yet overall effectiveness, and participation as traditionally conceived in traditional programs, remains low. The Crossroads Café evaluations (Intelecom 1998) show that nearly half the 21.2m foreign born population of the United States are adults with limited English proficiency, but in the last decade only 633,000 out of approximately 4.25 million such adults were served by English for Speakers of other Languages (ESOL) programs. The typical ESOL-enrolled learner was female (69 percent), 37 years old (mean age), Spanish speaking (46 percent), at least a graduate of a foreign high school (71 percent), a relative newcomer to the United States (mean time, 3 years), and unemployed (67 percent). Crossroads Café has been well received by instructors and learners. It has been shown to work as a way of reaching out to hitherto unreachable adults. Used purely as a distance learning program it can be as effective as classroom instruction with the same materials at a significantly reduced cost. There are institutional barriers, in terms of cooperation of local partners such as TV stations. but these could be tackled at program and policy level.

Yet the conclusion to be drawn is that technology by itself will not be the solution to the problem of the adult learning deficit. Its exploitation will greatly enhance access to and the effectiveness of instruction-based programs. There will continue to be an important role for traditional, classroom-based provision for immigrants seeking language competence and for adults in need of basic skills. Greeno and Hunt together suggest that the solution will be a messy plurality of approaches, including conversion, of the situations in which immigrants with poor language proficiency or unskilled workers or elderly retired adults find themselves, into effective learning opportunities.

Neither technology nor situated learning is a panacea. The revolution is not occurring because someone has discovered the educational equivalent of a wonder drug. What is new is that the professionals—who no longer need to be experts in instruction—are finally free of any addiction to instruction as the key to adult learning. The new professionals are people like Directors of Intellectual Capital and knowledge managers in firms, and Directors of Social Services and community managers in localities. The history of adult education is littered with programs that failed to reach most of their target group. There were generally several reasons for this, but one of the most common has been precisely this prejudiced attachment to a particular way of promoting adult learning. This prejudice removed, new and old professionals together are striking out with bold initiatives both at work and in the community.

The unusually high levels of participation in very broadly conceived adult education and training in Sweden (see Sohlman) or Japan (see Yamaguchi and Ohsako) were not shown to be a mechanical response to pressing needs. On the contrary, the three authors showed how profoundly the nature and availability of adult learning activities are influenced not just by history and culture, but also by very particular social values and convictions about the way work should be organized and social life structured. They also depicted changing societies, in which adults are seeking to alter their lifestyles; to live with more autonomy and greater cultural self-expression based on their own ideas and ability (Japan); and to find new ways to promote a learning-rich and more democratic environment in civil society or at work, which includes disadvantaged people with poor education, the disabled, and immigrants (Sweden).

The two-country case studies were striking testimony to the influence of a specific institutional and cultural context on the terms on which learning opportunities can be accessed and therefore who is "in" and who is "out." Cultural specificity itself creates "ins" and "outs" in multicultural societies. The effective exclusion of marginalized groups, including immigrants and retired people, was touched upon in various discussions. It underlined the importance and radical nature of one feature of the new paradigm, it's reaching out impartially to every kind of situation in which all kinds of adults find themselves. More severely than before, implementation will test the commitment of countries to a genuinely plural, multicultural, and democratic way of life. It will challenge the permanent temptation not to strive too hard to lift immigrants and unschooled adults out of the pool of vulnerable and extremely cheap labor and the temptation to neglect the elderly as an unproductive, already-costly burden.

## Learning: The General and the Specific

Jim Greeno drew attention to the large literature on 'learning communities of practice' which covers both paid and unpaid work as learning contexts. The attention of researchers has been shifting to activity settings for learning, to 'participating skillfully' rather than 'skills' to 'knowing' rather than 'knowledge.' Far from being mere semantics, this marks a move to try to understand the activity [the black box of learning] rather than inputs or outputs, in other words to understand how adults learn.

Greeno saw whether at work or in the community, the dumbing down of work processes through modernized, technology-based versions of Taylorism as inimical to the learning prospects of the most marginal workers. The reason: extending the personal agency and responsibility of adults is found to be the most likely way to increase their learning through work. It has never been invariably true that 'doing is learning and learning is doing.' Anyone experienced in repetitive housework or on the assembly line knows this. The trick is to engineer paid or unpaid work so that it becomes a learning path for the worker without sacrificing work output.

Earl Hunt qualified Greeno's paper in a number of ways, for example adding that it is important how adults use what they learn. Use of newly acquired skills and knowledge, and the conditions governing use are found to be major influences on motivation and perceptions, added Tuckett, and are at the heart of motivation. There is a good deal of general learning theory that applies to humans young or old. But there was wide recognition among participants that what was needed was a life-cycle theory of human learning which could comprehend not only the unchanging or general characteristics of human learning but also the major variables through time, as knowledge and life situations change. Hunt argued that there are anyway "major differences between young adult immigrants trying to learn the languages and skills required in a new country, young adults trying to repair problems in their own school education (e.g., by seeking a General Equivalency Diploma), middle-aged adults seeking retraining due to layoff and elderly adults taking courses for personal fulfillment."

Neurologically, child and adult learning processes may be fundamentally the same. But the circumstantial variables are numerous. The contexts of the learner are so different, perceptions, responses to stimuli and incentives, and objectives are so different, and the adult's accumulated knowledge is so large and varied relative to the child's, that the adult learner calls for a great range of customized treatments. Impartial respect for these specifics is clearly the key to far more effective promotion of adult learning. The general truths—that people learn best when they learn things with obvious applicability to their lives and things they want to learn—translate into as many different approaches as there are broad circumstantial variables.

Perhaps there is a perpetual tendency for a gap to open up between researchers and practitioners. The researchers, notably psychologists, select very limited data in order to distill out some quite robust generalizations. But in practice the specifics overlay the general and the practitioner, grateful for the generalizations, nevertheless has to find a way to deal with the specifics, for this is essential to effectiveness. What practitioners find may work for certain groups, or certain languages or even in certain countries. But so much is specific that it remains immensely difficult to identify what is general and transferable.

## Some Vulnerable Adults

Three subgroups of the adult population were the objects of very detailed workshop discussions: adult immigrants with minimal language proficiency; adults lacking basic skills; and elderly adults (mostly over 55 years old), whose continued employability is at risk or who have retired. It is possible to pick out only a few themes from these rich and wide-ranging discussions.

### Immigrants

Many of the problems for immigrants who need to acquire a new language are not technical. That is to say, effective instructional techniques for both classroom and distance learning exist. But the learning, which is desired and is technically feasible does not always occur. Sometimes there are obvious institutional problems. For instance, in federal states, of which the United States is only one example, the quality of English as a Second Language (ESL) programs can vary enormously from locality to locality. The country's constitution gets in the way of nationwide quality assurance. But the nub of the U.S. problem is clearly shown in one evaluation of Crossroads Cafe implementation (Florida Evaluation, Intelecom 1998, 11):

The demand for English as a Second Language (ESL) education in the United States greatly surpasses the availability of instruction ... approximately 1 out of 10 Limited English Proficient (LEP) adults participated in ESL classes in 1994–95, about 1.3 million people in total, but nearly a quarter more, 3 million, expressed an interest in attending English classes but were unable to participate in programs. Work schedules, childcare, inconvenient locations, and transportation were all cited as barriers to attendance, but the primary reason was an insufficient supply of appropriate ESL services. Of the 3 million ... approximately half were 36 years of age or older.

Because distance learning in a key state like Florida is described as "largely an untapped resource" it might be thought that the problem is simply supply, the more so since the inappropriateness of available books and videos was cited as a key problem for basic skills adult education in other countries, like Mexico, where this, rather than immigrant language acquisition, is the major issue.

Unfortunately, it became very clear that this is not the case: That modern learning technologies are portable, asynchronous, and can be highly customized is a huge advantage. High and appropriate quality seems to be more difficult to achieve because of :

- the continued existence of big empty areas in the knowledge map of adult learning;
- the continued scarcity of effective practice and practitioners; and
- the yet-to-be developed understanding of the specific limitations of computer-based adult learning technologies and of the most effective ways of minimizing such limitations for diverse groups of adults, (i.e., taking proper account of differences of circumstance, prior knowledge, and personal goals).

There are difficult and important technical issues, such as the role of native language literacy in relation to second language literacy. Practitioners in Australia, the United States, and elsewhere struggle with this and make good use of the output of researchers (see de Cossio and Chou Allender). But there are other important issues where programs and policymakers have a major role that does not always sit easily with the practice and inclinations of researchers and practitioners. For example, it is a technical question how learning a new language affects identity and, through that route, learner motivation. But this is also a critical political issue in every country.

The cultural freight of every language is heavy, and adults are far less biddable than children or even young people. Many adult immigrants do not bring with them a strong orientation to abstract, school-based learning methods. Changing codes from informal, action-based learning, driven by instrumental goals to the dominant paradigm used in initial education can by itself be very difficult. Shock treatment, for example total immersion in a new language and culture, may severely damage self-confidence and self-esteem compared with transition to a new language where the learner has some influence over both the pace and extent of the changeover into a new register. There was much agreement that self-confidence and self-esteem are means to an end in such language learning, since far more is being learned than just a new language. Whereas the perceived attractions of a new culture may be a strong motivator to language acquisition for the young, for adults, whose cultural fundamentals are deeply rooted, the new culture may be a negative factor.

Good practice may be based on exploiting and respecting the immigrant's own culture and language in order to manage motivation and help bridge the language/culture gap which has to be crossed. But it became clear in discussion that everything is not negotiable, that host countries have crunch points where immigrant cultural biases run counter to those of host countries as different as Denmark, France, and the United States, and that in a crunch it is the assimilation model, which dominates the liberal, multicultural model. The extent to which public policy asserts the (sometimes covert) assimilative model clearly varies over time and between countries. It may even be—but this is speculative—that there is, in general, a culture gap between practitioners (who are inclined to see themselves as enablers for immigrants' objectives) and policymakers (who, in a crunch, will mostly reflect the majority views of the host community). In other words, the bicultural model of language induction cannot always be operated without political constraints that either limit resources or influence the curriculum.

## The Unskilled

In addition to the sheer scale of poor literacy among adults across OECD countries, it was striking that dissatisfaction with service quality is quite widespread and that many countries are not meeting the needs of massive numbers of adults with literacy problems.

There are significant variations between countries in the treatment of low proficiency adults, which are likely to affect motivation, and opportunity to learn at work. In some countries, such as Belgium, Ireland and the United States, lack of education is very critical to an individual's economic health. In some other countries, notably Sweden, adults with poor educational credentials but relatively high literacy can do much better economically than in others.

In Sweden, the differences in earnings between high and low literacy levels are much smaller than in the United States, meaning that rewards for literacy are less. Yet participation in various forms of adult learning, which is one strategy for raising literacy levels, is much higher in Sweden. There are other powerful factors, which motivate adult learning.

Workshop discussion focused heavily on reasons for low levels of participation in instruction-based programs and on quality of provision. In the workshop on immigrants there had been just a little attention to the potential of work placements and use of the immigrant's environment in promoting language development (e.g., Chou Allender). In this workshop there was even less attention to use of approaches other than classroom-based areas, although one instance was given by Stephen Reder of a case study firm which achieved systematic increases in skill levels, including those of the least skilled workers, after introducing direct rewards for skill acquisition.

Nancy Hampson from San Diego Community College offered a cameo sketch of her Adult Basic Education class with all the beguiling persuasiveness of a well-told anecdote. It did not matter that she knew best practice in everything from A to Z or that the college has really good career and counseling services. The big problem which trumped everything else was to get students to stay long enough and regularly enough to learn anything very lasting. The highest attendance level was about 40 percent of total class hours and under 5 percent of enrollees achieved that. Out of over 100 irregularly attending students only 18 percent were working and most were on public assistance. Entry level was set at below fifth grade (or U.S. National Adult Learning Survey levels 1 and 2), although reading levels ranged from 0 to 10th grade. Half of her students spoke English as a second language, but the class was not ESL and was taught in English. It was not surprising that she judged three-quarters of the barriers to their learning to be situational and institutional rather then dispositional. She regarded the title of Adult Basic Education to be in itself "a turn-off" compared with training for anything.

The researchers would probably agree with Hampson's motto: "if they don't learn the way we teach, let's teach the way they learn." It was easy to see the complementaries between the teacher's perspective and that of the researchers. One researcher (Reder) argued that, given the typically low intensity and duration of participation in adult basic education, it may be more effective to program "less in terms of discrete ability levels and more in terms of learning context (e.g., workplace, family) and longer term learner goals (e.g., obtaining a GED, job advancement)." The entry level "might be focused on getting adult students into a logistically comfortable 'track' along which they can experience steady learning and progress towards their longer-term goals. The subsequent 'level' of instruction might involve adding new learning goals, expanding literacy-helping networks, and so on." Judith Alamprese suggested research priorities in basic adult education:

- the relationship between program operation and learner progress;
- the relationship between amount and intensity of instruction and learner progress;
- the relationship between context, and especially transfer, and the method of instruction and learner progress;
- the role of extended learning activities in learner progress;
- the relationship between staff development methods and instructor change; and
- the relationship between short-term outcomes and long-term impacts on learners.

## The Elderly

The workshop on unskilled, undereducated adults focused strongly on classroom-based basic education but reflected a growing appreciation of its inherent limitations and the need to capitalize on alternative learning contexts and on non-instructional approaches. The workshop on the learning of elderly adults saw the new paradigm on full display.

In the Nordic countries, three in four elderly adults seem not to participate in organized learning and almost one-in-four 70-year-olds in Denmark have expressed a need for organized learning which is not fully met. But much depends on how organized learning is defined. In Finland, Denmark, and Norway it appears to mean instruction-led learning. But in Sweden the teacherless, self-directed study circles decide what to learn and how to do it, an approach which in certain respects mirrors good practice in a tiny number of companies with innovative human resource development practices.

The philosophy espoused by the Nordic Folk Academy and the Swedish study circles finds powerful expression in the innovative approaches in Germany reported by Gunther Dohmen. Here the conception of learning is of a lifelong and life-wide activity not only to survive and to prosper materially but also to construct a good life. It is upon this maximalist understanding of human learning that the emerging German paradigm of adult learning is founded.

One side of the new coin is self-direction, which may be self-direction of learning within a structure of opportunities and learning resources organized by others or which may include self-organization. It was curious not to pick up any references in the conference to research on private learning projects in Canada and the United States sparked off by Alan Tough in the early seventies (e.g., 1971), and therefore to the formidable research evidence of the capacity of the *average* adult for deliberate, sustained, self-directed learning.

The other, promotional side of the coin is enabling, which of course includes but is far broader in concept and practice than instruction. The German innovations fully accept that nonparticipation of older adults in classroom-based education does not reflect any lack of will or ability to learn. It reveals only a preference in many instances for "different, more self-determined and open learning forms," and the difficulty which elderly people from educationally or linguistically deprived backgrounds have with "the elaborated forms of communication and language that characterize most further education programs."

This position echoed Hunt's emphasis on the importance of conditions which helps adults not just to acquire knowledge (see Greeno) but also to retain, recall, and use it. Many of the elderly fit Hunt's description of most people as geared for action (what to do) rather than understanding (cognition). This is not to underestimate the importance of reflection, merely to stress the problem solving, action basis of much adult learning. These newer forms of learning in Germany tend to avoid dependency, to lean towards uncontrolled self-determined learning and to develop from and enhance informal opportunities arising from the real life surroundings of the elderly. This involves the same natural and often unconscious, (i.e., tacit learning capability which some of the most progressive firms in Japan, the United States, and Europe are beginning to recognize as one of their major intangible assets). Dohmen argued that its exploitation can transform the life of the elderly, not least the majority who will never be reached by classroom-based provision but who respond to opportunities to keep mentally fit by autonomous learning-through-doing and networking.

Again, it was recognized in the workshop and by Dohmen that implementation of an enabling paradigm has profound program and policy implications. Many of the same insights about adult learning, based on research and good practice, informed the Adams/Dansky presentation on ways of teaching the elderly using methods which are not replaced by but have to be incorporated within an enabling strategy. The new paradigm can only be converted into practice through far greater flexibility and variety of forms. The jury is out on whether the gross cost of this will be greater or smaller than current costs since "self-directed" does not necessarily mean "no public cost."

## Accelerate and Intensify

A life-cycle theory of learning implies policy levers which are appropriate both to stages in that life cycle and to the specific characteristic of subgroups, (i.e., to their circumstances and to their needs). Not only is it necessary to manage appropriate incentives and the conditions which frame individual motivation and choice, but it is essential to remove or influence the constraints on individual choice. The main focus of the conference was not on these implications for policy. But participants offered highly pertinent observations on some of these implications, and together their proposals would help to speed up acceptance of the new paradigm in more areas of adult learning and increase the density of innovative schemes that would convert concept into reality.

## Managing the Learning Context

Implementation of an enabling strategy requires a major increase in flexibility at program level. Opportunities for learning are both exploited and created by the "new" firms throughout every aspect of the firm's operations. Similarly, support has to be devised and put in place to enable immigrants to learn more autonomously beyond the classroom, through devices identified during the conference, (e.g., distance and open learning resources, mentoring, and self-help groups). The new learning technologies also have an important, and at present largely potential, role to play in helping adults to acquire basic skills and to continue and broaden their learning after retirement.

The Adult Education Initiative, which Sweden launched in 1997, is targeting individuals who have not completed upper secondary education as well as the adult unemployed. For, in spite of Sweden's relatively high adult participation rates, one-quarter of all Swedish adults have a literacy level in the International Adult Learning Survey below level 3, the benchmark level for effective participation in economic and civil life. Individualized action plans and new teaching methods are seen to be necessary if the needs of reluctant adult learners with poor formal education are to be met. Devolution of responsibilities for provision to regions and localities and the encouragement of competition from nonpublic providers such as folk high schools are all intended to yield a wider and more attractive variety of provision to appeal to these highly vulnerable adults in their local circumstances.

Developing learning opportunities, learning stimuli, learning aids, and a dense infrastructure of learning-friendly services for the elderly, as envisaged by Dohmen, requires an integrated system and sustained effort from many professionals in addition to those who define themselves as adult educators and educational institutions. Declarative learning, the acquisition of skills and knowledge, which can be consciously recalled, is the characteristic product of the effective classroom. The new paradigm by no means despises the value of such learning. But its implementation also requires the patient construction of a learning-rich environment, which will promote the natural and holistic learning, which is part of everyday life. To engineer this environment for easy access and exploitation by low language proficiency adults, the unskilled, or elderly adults is the principal program and policy challenge.

Financial incentives such as rewards for specific learning outcomes or earnings premia for educational credentials have a role, greater in some countries than others, more effective with some people than with others. But participants were very clear that whatever is done to create a learning society from the supply side, by enriching learning opportunities, the motivation of adults to learn depends very heavily on nonfinancial factors. Policy and programming have to address these directly since they influence so strongly the will to learn.

This requires free and easily used information and counseling services to help people to take a realistic view of their capabilities and ways of achieving what they want, as well as to establish what support is available in the community or the workplace. Probably more important for adults is ownership or self-determination. It is a necessary condition of learning for many adults in many situations that they have a say, often the final say, in defining goals and planning ways to achieve them. The test of successful implementation of an enabling strategy is that control of what is learned, how, when and by who passes to the learners. When that happens self-direction has been realized.

## Translation

The conference itself demonstrated the complex interactions between research, innovation, and practice, in which both researchers and practitioners may come to grips with the same ideas at the same time. Unfortunately, it was also clear that a good deal of relearning what has already been learned takes place, alongside much experimentation and local learning, but far less systematic learning in which the policy community can easily share.

In part, this is because there is often a gap between the answers which academic research provides and the questions which practitioners ask. Between researchers and practitioners a more systematic link is needed to help translate research for practitioners and practice for researchers, especially when a paradigm shift is under way. The outcomes of innovation are inevitably unpredictable and, as Ladislav Cerych argued, the only solution is a system, which permits continuous adjustment in the light of feedback.

There may be a need for a more formalized translation network and clearinghouse for adult learning when so many ministries, agencies, and organizations outside traditional adult education are engaged in promotion and support. The heterogeneity of implementation initiatives which follows inevitably from adoption of an enabling strategy will require a reliable and permanent system to reduce the amount of good research and innovation which is not grossed up, is diluted or even ignored.

## Measuring Benefits

Participants identified two difficult policy issues, which arise out of the shift to an enabling strategy and require urgent consideration. One is the issue of accountability and the other is marketing.

Where public monies are being spent there are a number of difficulties in establishing accountability. Some are inherent in the promotion of learning by adults. Nancy Hampson's estimate that three-quarters of early terminations from adult learning programs were due not to dispositional barriers but to situational and institutional ones that would be less important for the young chimed with the experience of many.

Family and work responsibilities are not very predictable and can be insuperable barriers to learning. They can also lead to extremely unfavorable cost effectiveness evaluations compared with norms derived from initial education programs dominated by the young. This applies particularly to the most disadvantaged subgroups such as immigrants with low language proficiency and adults lacking basic education. Desirable outcomes such as basic language proficiency and basic educational competence will not have high valuations put on them if the benchmark is the scarcity of such outcomes in the whole population or their market value. More appropriate measures would be the extent to which the disadvantaged are set on a competitive footing in the job market and how well they are able to participate in the mainstream of society and undertake civic responsibilities. Whether or not a traditional or a newer form of adult learning support offers a good return to society depends heavily on the appropriateness of the performance measures which are built into programs.

A different kind of accountability issue does not relate so directly to program measures as to the freedom of practitioners to choose the most effective ways to help adults. Accountability is important. But the ever-present risk that the drive for accountability will rob practitioners of necessary latitude in deciding how to do their job is much increased as the promotion of adult learning moves beyond the familiar model of instruction-led learning into a wide variety of initiatives which enhance the learning potential inherent in everyday activities at work or in the community.

Measurement is no less important for consensus building and for effective marketing to those who control resources and manage learning contexts, and to adults themselves. Without measurable benefits innovation may not be credible to the policy community and the shift to an enabling strategy over more and more contexts of adult learning may be seriously inhibited. Positive results, which meet policy goals, have to be demonstrated in public programs.

However, participants envisaged a range of nontraditional measures which could be exploited to convince policymakers and adults of the wealth of desirable outcomes which are available.

Tom Sticht drew attention to the wide range of measurable multiplier effects of adult literacy that enable adults to have better (and more cheaply) educated children, to be more productive, earn more, pay more taxes, and be better citizens. Such effects clearly apply to programs for immigrants with minimal language proficiency and those for adults who lack basic skills. But in papers and workshop discussion it was also evident that positive results may be expected in the form of reduced health costs and care costs, and this is an important concern of the elderly. Ever since Jeremy Bentham's felicific calculus the notion of any form of happiness indicator has seemed risible. Yet modern Japan still reveres Confucius and his dictum that "learning is pleasure;" and the United States is philosophically committed to a Jeffersonian "pursuit of happiness," (i.e., one which is more positive than the reduction of taxes). Personal fulfillment, collective self-help, civic involvement, greater autonomy, and a wider range of cultural activities are valuable outcomes from promoting learning by the elderly. Program evaluation has become mired in abstract constructs like "levels" and "equivalences" in order to facilitate cardinality. But the non-additivity of appropriate measures need not present great problems.

## Conclusion

A quiet revolution is already underway among some groups of adults in a few countries and in a sprinkling of firms. To roll out this revolution it will be necessary to learn systematically from experience with what works and to apply these lessons widely in a way which has not been done in the past. To include the many millions of adults who are effectively excluded from lifelong learning opportunities requires a holistic strategy founded on insights from experience, for example:

- Adult learning is generally more effective when it builds on the familiar and takes place in a context in which new knowledge and skills can be applied.
- The diversity of circumstances, knowledge, values, and goals among adults makes it essential to focus in the first place on defining and addressing adult interests rather than their skill needs.
- Because of its more holistic orientation, innovative practice tends to run ahead of research.
- Poorly qualified adults need structured learning with a clear lifelong learning perspective to counteract the over-concentration of policies, programs, and institutions on short-term learning gains.
- Marked cultural variations among countries are reflected in country-specific differences with respect to incentives and motivation to learn, and in the deep cultural roots of language which make bilingual education the preferred approach to learning a new language.

The growing attention to learning, which is not led by instruction and is self-directed by individuals or by groups, is well illustrated by new ways of supporting the learning of elderly adults.

The enlarged concept of adult learning has a number of key features:

- It focuses on the learning of individuals rather than teaching in educational institutions.
- The role of government extends far beyond that of an educational provider: it has to ensure that there is a coherent and effective set of incentives to learn in non-formal as well as formal settings, and to help disadvantaged adults to make informed and realizable choices about their own learning.
- The full range of payoffs from adult learning have to be measured and marketed to adults as well as to policymakers, in terms of higher earnings but also improved educational performance by children, better health, greater personal autonomy, and richer social interaction. A learning society depends not only on effective initial education for the whole population, but also on well-developed work-based learning and on a highly diverse yet coherent structure of community-based learning opportunities.

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# Learning in and for Participation in Work and Society[1]

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This paper is intended to contribute to the development of a framework for research that can guide the design of learning resources in work and society. The broad subject of our work is adult learning, and we have chosen to focus on learning in the setting that occupies about half of the waking hours of many adults—the workplace. An interdisciplinary seminar at the Institute for Research on Learning has been integrating the findings of a number of researchers engaged in empirical work on how learning actually happens in the workplace. We have identified several themes that should be explored for their ramifications for policy, practice, and further research, and that have important implications for understanding learning in all settings, not just in the workplace.

The corporate world's overwhelming reliance on classroom training reflects a common view of learning as separate from, and preparatory for, work. It also reflects a preoccupation with the development of individual skills and with the individual's acquisition of knowledge and information. This traditional, purely cognitive, view of learning—the view that is firmly embedded in our education and training systems—focuses on knowledge as structured information, and learning as the accumulation of information. It also views motivation as external to learning, and as simply disposing individuals to do the otherwise dry work of accumulation. The fact that many teaching and assessment practices embody this view of learning tends to enforce the view further, making it appear as the natural way to do things. We argue the contrary: learning is fundamental to, and a natural part of, human activity; it is the classroom situation that is anomalous. If we want to understand learning, we must come to understand what, when, and why people learn under normal circumstances, not just when they are thrown into classroom situations to learn under duress.

The separation of learning from activity and from the motivation to learn is also something we challenge. It has come about, we believe, as part of a separation of the social from the cognitive—an abstraction of the individual from the activities and collectivities that define human existence. While this separation may facilitate some scientific activities, it should be recognized as a "convenient fiction," and not be taken as basic to human behavior. We take the view that activity, motivation, and learning are separable only in a very normative (even punitive) view of learning, and that a theory of learning that ignores these connections cannot account for when, how, or what people learn. This view has many implications for research and for action, and is confirmed by a large body of empirical work on learning as it happens in everyday activity.

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## Learning to Become

Underlying this paper is the understanding that people learn in order to achieve desired forms of participation in communities and activity, in order to affect positively their sense of their meaning in the world. People learn not just in order to do, but in order to become. Thus learning is embedded in communities and inseparable from identity. The fundamental argument of this paper will be that the most critical development of work expertise takes place not in training sessions, but on the job in meaningful work activities. In our focus on meaning, we stress the learners' sense that they are contributing to the life and success of an enterprise that matters to them and to others, and that they in turn matter to that enterprise. A worker engaged in mindless or meaningless activity learns a good deal—about meaninglessness.

This view of learning has been put forth in Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger's work on communities of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991, Wenger 1998), locating learning and the construction of knowledge in communities of practice, as inseparable from practical action, and inseparable from the life of the community. Most importantly, this view links individuals to communities, and links the cognitive to the social.

A community of practice is an aggregation of people who, through joint engagement in some enterprise, come to develop and share ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values—in short, practices. In many cases it is easy to identify the common endeavor that assembles a community of practice: a garage band, an engineering team, a day care cooperative, a research group, a kindergarten class. But that endeavor develops a life of its own as local practices develop, transforming the relations, activity, and perhaps the enterprise itself. An overworked secretarial pool can become a bastion of resistance, a friendship group can become a garage band, a Lamaze class can become a friendship group. Communities of practice emerge and develop in order to fulfill common needs—and in response to a shared environment. A gang may emerge in response to a shared sense of threat in the urban environment, and it may transform itself into a community help organization if local authorities find meaningful ways to support its participation in legal rather than illegal activity.

Because we are focusing on the workplace, we will focus on the kinds of community of practice that tend to emerge in workplaces. Such communities may emerge in response to the formal structure of an organization, whether in order to find a productive way of accomplishing a task, to find a way to work around an unworkable structure, or to provide mutual support in the face of demeaning or unfair treatment. The success of an organization may well be measurable in terms of the extent to which the communities of practice that emerge within it are aligned with the organization's structure and purpose.

Engagement in a joint endeavor involves the construction of individual and community knowledge, both around activity and around the construction of a joint sense of the community in relation to the broader social landscape. Community knowledge involves whatever it takes to participate effectively in the community—it involves not only facts and skills, but also knowledge of social relations and practices. Community knowledge will also involve a joint view of the larger social and organizational landscape, and such things as the community's relation to, and attitudes towards it. Thus within a workplace, a community of practice will come to define itself both in terms of its internal functioning, and in relation to other aggregations in the workplace. Kinds of knowledge and expertise become part of what constitutes the community on the one hand, and what distinguishes individuals and their forms of participation in the community on the other. Thus individuality and community cannot be defined independently of each other. Participating in the community requires knowledge of community practice, and involves an ongoing participation in the construction of new knowledge. Newcomers to a community of practice must enter into this knowledge practice in order to participate: they must learn in order to participate, and they must have access to participation in order to learn. Barriers to learning in the workplace, therefore, are to be sought in people's access to knowledge and practice within communities of practice, and in the relation between the community and the larger organizational and social landscape.

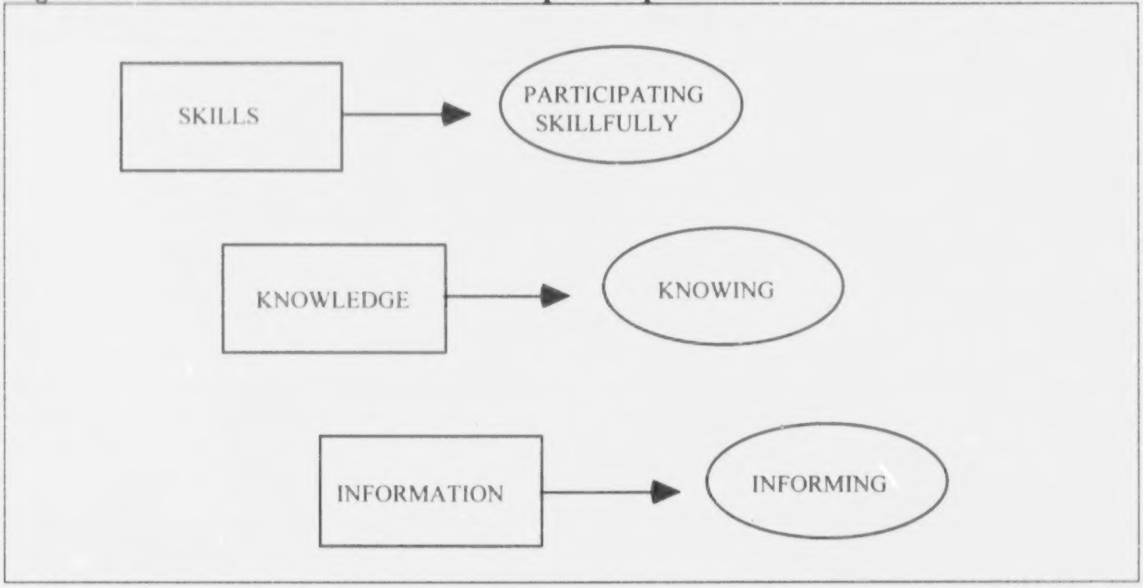
Individuals participate in a variety of communities of practice, and the forms that their participation take in their various communities of practice may be quite different—in some cases they may participate quite marginally, while they may be central in others. Some will be relatively transitory, or unimportant, while their participation in others may be a central part of their lives. The individual's identity emerges in the process of articulation and resolution of participation in all of these communities of practice, and the identity of each community of practice emerges through its participants' joint engagement in this process. People learn in order to be able to participate, to contribute, to see their effect, to become particular kinds of people with particular capabilities. Learning, therefore, is part of a personal trajectory, but a trajectory that is defined in relation to others and to joint practice with others. The motivation may be simply to be better than someone else, or to avoid humiliation, but it may also be to cooperate with someone, to achieve a formal status, to help someone, to make something happen, or to get something done.

Studies of learning at work show over and over again that the formal organization of workplaces can stymie workers' attempts to make their work meaningful. Much work today is still based on the segmentation of functions and tasks and as a result inhibits a broader understanding of the overall organization and how one fits into it. People can contribute to the success of an organization in different ways, and an important aspect of an individual's sense of meaning and significance comes from being able to recognize and appreciate the way that her or his activity contributes to the larger system of activity in the organization.

To understand how individuals participate successfully in learning in their work and social lives, it is essential to consider the conditions in which they have opportunities to learn. Activity involves the articulation of an individual's work with that of other people with whom that individual interacts, and with the resources that they have available, such as computers, documents, systems for keeping records, physical machines, and the business functions to be accomplished. Many studies have also shown that success in learning depends on social arrangements that determine how hard or easy it is for different people to participate meaningfully in aspects of activity that matter (e.g., Lave & Wenger 1991; Reder & Schwab 1988; Sachs 1995; Scribner and Sachs 1990, 1991; and Wenger 1998).

The findings of research studies on learning provide an understanding of activities that are successful or unsuccessful in different ways. It is clear from many analyses that success or failure in practical activity cannot be understood only in terms of the knowledge, skills, and information that are brought to the situation by individuals. These individual attributes must be considered in relation to the social arrangements and other resources with which the individuals interact. To emphasize this, it is useful to revise some of the terms that we use to analyze and evaluate programs and resources for learning. Some of the main analytical terms of these discussions are in figure 1, in which we propose replacing static terms that are the common learning vocabulary with terms that acknowledge the embedding of learning in action, belonging, and interpreting.

**Figure 1.—From individual attributes to aspects of practical action**



Learning, in these terms, takes place when cognitive and social interactions naturally intertwine, as they do in activities (Scribner 1984). When "thinking" isn't just "in the head" but is taking place in the context of getting something done (as it usually is), "know what"—or accumulating facts—becomes meaningful because people are also learning "know how," "know why," and "know when" (Scribner 1984; Scribner & Sachs 1990, 1991). Learning involves becoming more successful in sustained participation in the practices of work, citizenship, family, and social life. It includes improvements in knowing how to perform actions that are parts of social practices; understanding the concepts and principles that groups use in planning, doing, evaluating, and explaining what they do; finding out who is knowledgeable about what and knowing how to interact productively with them; and informing activities by finding, interpreting, and using documents, data bases, and other sources of information. The human, physical, and organizational resources that support people's becoming more effective in these forms of participation constitute their learning environments.

Learning occurs everywhere in social activity, so to understand and improve learning in an organization or society, it is essential to understand how its learning environments work and how they can be changed productively. The development of policies and programs for learning involves the addition or reallocation of resources in a society's learning environments, with the intention of helping people learn more successfully. However, given the complexity of these environments, changes conceived in abstraction from the communities of practice that they are intended to serve run the risk of being counterproductive. It cannot be assumed that some new program will necessarily improve the overall level of learning in an organization or society; the program will interact with other resources and constraints in the system in ways that will be surprising, and may even turn out to be harmful rather than beneficial. Understanding how learning takes place in these complex environments, therefore, is crucial for effective change.

# Some Critical Features of Adult Learning in Complex Environments

Four themes have come up over and over again in empirical studies of people learning in workplaces, which have an important influence on people's success in learning in these environments. Each of these will have important ramifications for policy, practice, and further research that need to be explored by the relevant professional communities. We will organize the rest of our discussion around these issues:

- the existence of multiple perspectives;
- the need for access to what matters;
- the ubiquity of knowledge work; and
- the social construction and maintenance of knowledge.

## Multiple Perspectives

- Skillful participation, knowing, and informing are embedded in practices, which vary among communities of practice within an organization.
- However, organizations often recognize only a single "official" perspective as legitimate.
- Communication across perspectives can be a crucial work function.
- Designing learning environments from a limited perspective can be counterproductive.

Communities of practice within a single organization may have quite distinct practices. They will engage in specific activities and attend to specific kinds of knowledge and expertise as a function of their enterprise, and they may have very different social structures (e.g., some may be hierarchical, others egalitarian), different ways of interacting among themselves (e.g., some may be casual, others formal), different ways of sharing information (e.g., some may use memos, others casual conversations; some may share information openly, others may emphasize specialization; some may encourage all participants to volunteer knowledge, others may have hierarchical knowledge practices). Skillful contribution to any community, therefore, requires a wide range of capabilities—knowing facts, concepts, and principles; understanding social relations and norms of interaction; knowing how to communicate and how to interpret documents and other information sources; and learning these practices and perspectives is crucial for a newcomer who wishes to participate in, and contribute to, a community of practice. Ongoing participation also involves continual learning as the community of practice changes, and as individuals change their own forms of participation.

In addition, each community of practice will have its own window on the larger enterprise of which it is part, hence its own perspective on the activities, functions, and values of the organization, and on its own place in it. Communities of practice that form around the accomplishment of some piece of the organization's work are likely to develop their own perspective on that work, their own theories of what it is for, why it matters, and their own day-to-day way of accomplishing the work. People's abilities to learn, whether in schools, workplaces, or other social settings, depend on conditions that support their belief in their own emerging perspectives, and hence their ability to build on them. People also need to understand the relation between their own perspectives and the other perspectives of the enterprise, especially if there is a predominant legitimized perspective (as there usually is). When the perspectives of separate communities of practice come into contact, and one community has authority over the other in some form (such as through hierarchical structure or having control over the budget supporting a strong business initiative) then barriers to understanding the other's perspective tend to grow rather than recede. In an organization, this introduces significant challenges to getting work done effectively. Indeed, evidence demonstrates that complex work settings demand a wide range of "know-how" in order to put plans into action, and to the extent that a single authoritative view precludes effective cross-functional coordination, not only is productive work impeded, but it is impeded because workers are denied access to understanding the multiple perspectives that are required to get the job done. This translates into a learning inhibitor (e.g., Scribner & Sachs 1990).

Recognizing different perspectives, whether organizationally legitimized, personal, or that of another community, is an important capability for people to have in order to achieve success. In fact, knowing how to deal with multiple perspectives in constructive ways may be as important as mastering specific skills within a given perspective. Barley (1996), analyzing several varieties of works labeled as "technician," found that the ability to communicate across multiple perspectives in a work organization was crucial to their work. It was this ability that enabled them to be effective in providing service and helping users of technological systems understand how to utilize the systems effectively and without causing breakdowns.

These findings, and others that are consistent with them, imply that there are opportunities for improving the design of work by gaining understanding of the perspectives of people who do the work. Two approaches have been developed to accomplish this. One is participatory design, in which people who do the work are included in the process of designing resources and social arrangements for the activity. Another is thorough ethnographic study of the work activity, to identify important characteristics of the work in its settings. By combining these into an "interactive research and design" process, it is possible to develop learning strategies that can introduce new practices and enable more comprehensive learning in less time than in traditional training (Whalen and Whalen 1997).

## Access to What Matters

- Apparently unskilled performance can be caused by lack of access to functionally important processes and information.
- Access to these processes and information can benefit productivity and learning.
- Learning can be enhanced when work teams monitor and design their own work processes, and gain access to the practice in which these processes are embedded.

Being skillful and knowledgeable in a social system depends on having access to aspects of activity that matter in the successful functioning of an organization, community, or society. Lack of access to significant processes and information prevents participants from appreciating the significance of their contributions, and harms both their satisfaction and their effectiveness. In an example studied by Wenger (1998), an insurance company organized the work of claims processors in such a way that they computed an allowable claim by simply entering data into a form. Nonetheless, it was still their responsibility to handle telephone calls from clients inquiring about their claims, and because the computation functioned as a black box, newcomers were unable to give adequate explanations of claim actions. In another negative example, studied by Suchman and her colleagues (1998), a group of workers in a law firm had the responsibility of coding documents to select those that were relevant to cases that were being prepared. Although the attorneys assumed that document coders did not need access to the general legal or strategic issues of the case, empirical study showed that the document coders inferred significant aspects of these issues, which they needed to understand in order to make their selections successfully.

In contrast, Adler (1993) found a positive example in his study of activities of assembly line workers in an automobile plant. The workers were organized in teams, and the work of the teams included analyzing their operational productivity and efficiency. This analytical function has traditionally been in the purview of engineers, who have given workers directions intended to improve their productivity. Giving workers access to this function of analysis and work design yielded greater productivity and much greater satisfaction with their work. It is important to analyze what functions are actually significant for participants to spend their time on: not all functions "matter." Adler and Cole (1993) noted that in another plant, where work teams focused attention on more general issues such as formulating goals and philosophies of production, this kind of reflection did not enhance their productivity.

Another positive example, from Hutchins's (1995) analysis of navigation work on navy vessels, involved teamwork in which junior members of the team could observe the ways in which their more senior officers handled information. This legitimate peripheral participation (Lave and Wenger 1991) provided opportunities to learn the patterns of activity that they would need to participate in when they were promoted. The common compartmentalization of functions can prohibit just this kind of access. In a case cited by Lave and Wenger (1991), apprentice meatcutters operated machines that wrapped cut-up meat in plastic, separate from the room in which the operations of cutting meat were carried out. As a result, they were unable to learn anything but the immediate skills, deprived of access to the defining activity of the workplace.

These examples suggest that redesigning work and the work environment to provide meaningful access to what matters in a social system has important beneficial effects, supporting more engaged, knowledgeable, and skillful participation which complement the effects of programs designed to strengthen workers' "basic skills." A proactive case from a large telecommunications company demonstrated that the participatory design of work by the workers themselves and a team of social scientists produced an effective design of a work system. The design was based on expanding access to the work of others in multiple occupations—and in turn learning about their work—and had the effect of producing greater meaning in the work as well as increasing market share (Corcoran 1992, Sachs 1995). In other words, increasing access to learning and broadening access across multiple perspectives not only enhanced the learning of individuals but also was productive for the organization along many dimensions.

More broadly, we expect that people's engaged, knowledgeable, and skillful participation in their activities as members of society depends on their access to participation in what matters in the society, and that the design of programs for adult learning would benefit from analyses of the relations between participation structures of social institutions and people's orientations toward interactions in those institutions (Eckert 1989). In citizenship activity, programs that encourage and support people in identifying problems that matter to them, for example, problems involving neighborhood resources, can provide powerful occasions for their learning (Stein 1998).

## The Ubiquity of Knowledge Work

- **Labeling a subset of jobs as involving "knowledge work" is unjustified:** Intellectual processes, such as reasoning, understanding, and flexible problem solving are required in "low-skill" jobs and craft work.
- **Considering "basic skills" as separate factors to be "trained" and "tested" is inaccurate:** Skilled participation requires interpreting information sources, reasoning, and interacting people in problem situations as they emerge.

In empirical research on learning in work, one general finding is that all jobs have significant intellectual requirements. The distinctions often made between "knowledge work" and "routine work" are much too sharp to reflect the distribution of requirements for reasoning, problem solving, and judgment that are found when actual work is analyzed (e.g., Orr 1997, Suchman, 1995). Studies of work practice show that "knowledge work" is far more widespread than suggested in the literature on knowledge work or knowledge management. There are demonstrations of intellectual work in a wide range of jobs not generally viewed as involving knowledge work. The place to look for knowledge work is where workers actively make sense of their environment and their activities. This can be as simple as interpreting a corporate memo over coffee or figuring out how to put into practice a new business process. Just as the managerial view of the organization is the "legitimate" view, marginalizing the view of more powerless communities of practice, so the definition of "knowledge work" seems to be defined in terms of whose knowledge it is.

In analyzing the characteristics of successful work activity, it is more useful to think of "knowing," rather than "knowledge." This reflects the active nature of what people actually do when they understand situations and communicate and collaborate with others in solving problems and making decisions. Cook and Brown (1995) state that craft is a kind of knowledge work by examining ways in which expert knowing in craft work is embedded in practices that workers develop and learn through participation. In a study of workers in high-performance electronics manufacturing, Hull (1997) identified requirements for understanding, reasoning, and improvising that were not acknowledged in the official job descriptions. Scribner and Sachs (1990) obtained similar findings in their studies of inventory management workers. In the same way, in his research on technicians cited above, Barley (1996) recognized the importance of bridging perspectives to the success of technicians' jobs because they need to communicate with different kinds of people using their systems. But this understanding was not recognized as part of the job requirements.

An assumption in many discussions is that success in work activities depends mainly on skills that can be acquired by individuals prior to their employment, given appropriate levels of motivation, individual potential for learning, and training. Analyses of work activity show that success usually depends on generative abilities to understand situations and solve problems that emerge in activity. An example, from Linde and her colleagues' study of interactions in insurance agents' offices (Darrouzet et al. 1996), involves numerical reasoning. Agents and members of their staffs engage in conversations involving complex quantitative reasoning as they construct their understanding of the customers' needs and the features of available insurance products. The ability to reason and communicate successfully in these interactions involves a form of "numeracy" that is generative in social interaction and is fundamentally different from the kinds of mathematical skill that are measured in tests of school mathematics achievement.

There is much evidence that the capabilities that workers utilize when they are successful involve understanding and solving problems that emerge in their activities. This implies that programs that simply train "basic" skills that are abstracted from work situations are likely to be less effective than programs in which workers strengthen their more generative abilities. Hull (1997) found that assembly workers acted skillfully regarding texts and representations of quantitative information, but that their success depended on understanding situations in which literacy, numeracy, and other domains of skill are fundamentally interactive. Thus learning procedures in contexts that are separated from the interactional settings of work can be relatively ineffective. Instruction that emphasizes understanding of situations and learning to apply methods can have considerable generality (e.g., Boaler 1997, Brown & Kane 1988). For learning that relates to specific jobs, it can be much more effective to provide learning experiences that are tightly phased with time on the job. An example involving studies of learning and work in telephone service is a pattern of learning, called Phased Interactive Learning (PHIL), in which classroom activities are interphased with work on the job and workers with different experience are placed in learning groups to benefit from each other's experience (Whalen & Whalen 1997).

## The Social Construction and Maintenance of Knowledge

- In organizations, "knowledge" has a political function.
- All work involves specialized knowledge, but only certain work has enhanced status because it is understood to require specialized "knowledge."

We propose using the term "knowing" to refer to the abilities of people to contribute effectively and productively to activities. The term "knowledge" is used in social systems to designate collections of information, concepts, and principles that are recognized in the group. By identifying some aspects of knowing as "knowledge," the group supports distinctions between members of the group who have that knowledge and members of the group who do not. Groups also differentiate their members according to who of them need certain collections of the information, concepts, and principles that they recognize as knowledge.

One should not expect knowledge to be distributed uniformly within an organization, community, or society. Indeed, social systems make important distinctions among their members according to the knowledge they are recognized as having. This involves discrepancies between the ubiquitous form of implicit knowledge work (knowing) and the organization's *legitimized* knowledge and knowledge work. These differences are often associated with specific training or credentials obtained in educational institutions. In Suchman's (1998) study of legal document processing, a strict distinction was drawn between the knowledge required to screen documents for relevance to a case, and the understanding of important aspects of legal and strategic aspects of the case, assumed to be the purview of the trained attorneys.

The relation of people to information technology can embody this distinction, particularly as evidenced in the design of expert systems. These systems, commonly viewed as repositories of rarified expert knowledge, are configured with a view to supplementing the knowledge of their users—putting "pure" information at their disposal. Whalen and Vinkhuyzen (in press) studied just such a system designed for call service representatives in a company that sells and services technologically complex machines. This "expert-system" computer program provided scripts for representatives interacting with customers calling to request service. Designed from the engineers' perspective, the computer system prescribed questions for the representatives to ask customers in order to elicit information relevant to diagnosing why the customer's machine was malfunctioning. From the representatives' perspective, the questions often required them to violate important conversational conventions, especially with regard to presuppositions about the customers' competence, which could be crucial to a successful interaction. This is a perfect example, not only of the compartmentalization of legitimized knowledge, but of the powerful consequences of multiple perspectives on the work of an organization—the engineers' perspective included no understanding of the situations in which the knowledge they were embedding in the system would be used. Use of the system as it was designed was counterproductive, and successful representatives had to devise work around in order to succeed in their work. The engineers who designed this system assumed that knowledge about the machines that customers were complaining about could be incorporated in artificial intelligence, so that the workers would not need to be trained to understand the machines. What is missing in this picture is the kind of knowledge required to put information to work—for inscriptions to become information they have to be interpreted, a process that occurs in activity in ways that are embedded in social practices. Designs of information systems often neglect this, resulting in systems that are suboptimal in use. So-called "information systems" are better thought of as information sources, which people interpret to inform their activities. If the perspectives of those doing the interpretation were also viewed as expert knowledge, the configuration of these information systems would be quite different.

Changes in access to what matters also change the distributions of recognized "knowledge" in an organization. Resistance to this needs to be understood. If an organization (e.g., a company) wants to benefit from the increased productivity that can be obtained by removing some barriers to access, it needs to be prepared to reconfigure its distribution of responsibility and status, associated with different groups being recognized as having knowledge. For example, in Whalen and Vinkhuyzen's (in press) example of service representatives, having call-service personnel recognized as being knowledgeable about machines would decrease the special status of engineers as the exclusive holders of knowledge about machines. In Suchman's (1998) example of document coding, if coders had greater access to the technical and strategic aspects of cases, this would decrease the special status of certified attorneys as the exclusive holders of this knowledge. Understanding knowledge in an organization requires analyses of the distribution of persons who differ in their positions regarding their recognized knowledge, according to the recognized knowledge categories of the organization, as well as their knowing and skillful participation that contributes essentially to the system's success although it is often unrecognized.

## General Implications and Questions for More Effective Adult Learning

Although our evidence is predominantly from studies of work, it is clear that workers are in the habit of organizing much of their own learning in informal ways in the normal course of activity. It is reasonable to expect that if informal learning is so successful in formal institutions, it also functions significantly outside those institutions. There is a vast array of ethnographic research concerned with practices in many cultures, only a few of which (e.g., Beach 1995, Henze 1992) have been conducted or interpreted with a focus on learning. These studies are consistent with the general conclusions that we have discussed here. We offer some propositions and research questions regarding the three workshop topics that are implications of the framework that we have developed.

## How Adults Learn a New Language

Like other practices, language is best learned in the context of the activities and communities of practice that matter most to the learner. Using language in ways appropriate to the community of practice is crucial to participation, and participation in turn is crucial to learning language. The kind of English training often provided for individuals seeking U.S. citizenship supports learning to participate in very limited kinds of interaction that typically occur in school. This kind of language instruction is questionable for anyone, but it seems especially problematic for adults, whose social participation does not otherwise include school activity. In studies of work performance, Hull (1997) found that workers' use of language interacted with other aspects of their work, including technical understanding, social interaction, quantitative reasoning, and reasoning about administrative arrangements. Providing support for language learning in and for the settings in which speakers will be employing English is the clearest way to help speakers develop and control the linguistic strategies that they need and that will provide them with the opportunity to gain meaningful participation. In turn, the opportunity to participate meaningfully in an English speaking community that matters to the learner is the surest way to support English learning.

Learning a new language is a continuation of a person's linguistic development—an addition of a language to a repertoire rather than the development of an alternative to an "old" language. Much of an adult English learner's knowing, participating, and informing, are tied up with other languages, and building on them involves building a relationship between the languages rather than substituting one for the other. Each language and the practices that go with it can be a resource for the other. Many people's multiple communities involve non-English monolingual communities of practice, and bilingual (or multilingual) communities of practice, in which community practice involves complexly structured use of more than one language. Supporting people in building their bilingual or multilingual knowledge supports them in integrating the knowledge and practices of their lives, and provides continuity of identity and personal history (Grognet 1998).

## How Adults Learn Basic Skills

The framework that we are developing requires rethinking what is meant by "basic." Access to what matters in a social system may be more basic than what people do when they take paper-and-pencil tests. The important issue of individuals' contributions and development is how successfully they can participate in the activities of their work and social lives. Successful participation depends interactively on the abilities of people and the resources that are available in the situation, including the social arrangements that set expectations and limits on what people can and should know and do. In evaluating the performance of individuals in a system, it is as important to assess the access that they have to what matters as it is to assess their individual skills. As an example, all the members of a work group may be included in the process of conducting reports, or that participation may be limited to a single individual in the group (Hull 1997). In another example, the members of a work group may be responsible for continuously monitoring and improving their own performance, or this participation may be limited to supervisors (Adler 1993).

This framework calls into question the assumption that skills need to be acquired in a linear progression in a sequence from simpler to more complex procedures. An alternative is to consider progression of learning in a community as a sequence from more peripheral aspects to more central aspects of the community's activities (Lave & Wenger 1991). In this kind of progression, learning often occurs more as a succession of better approximations to more effective forms of activity, rather than as a succession of constructions of more complex procedures.

## How Learning Changes as Adults Age

The framework that we are developing emphasizes the resources that are available to learners, as well as the learners' activity in learning. There is a major difference between the institutional resources for learning that are available to children and adults in our society. The schools provide children with a clear progression of advancement through the system with regular assessments of progress and promotion to more advanced levels. Institutions for adult learning are not organized into a system in which individuals can track their progress. Adult learners, therefore, need to construct the progressions of their learning from fragmentary resources (Hull 1998).

In this framework, similarities in the learning processes of adults and children are more salient than differences. Both children and adults learn by participating in activities, and their learning results in more effective participation to the extent that they have access to what matters in the social system. Learning through participation in a community includes developing an identity in that community and this development is related to and depends upon the person's identity in the other communities in which he or she is a member. Learning of the most significant kinds involves transformations of identity, which can be productive or destructive, depending on whether the transformations extend or damage other aspects of the person's identity that are involved in her or his significant participation in other communities. The ways in which children's and adults' learning differ are influenced by the ways that their identities have been developed and interact with the changes in identity that they must undergo for their learning to be successful in new environments, and it is essential to take these differences into account in the design of programs of adult learning. But for adults, as for children, research and program development are needed to understand and support productive forms of learning that extend, rather than damage, personal agency, responsibility, and growth in successful participation in work, families, and other social life.

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# Adult Education, Migration, and Immigrant Education

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## Summary

Mexico is in the midst of a huge reform in the field of adult education. At the same time, Mexico has been far and away, the largest producer of immigrants into the United States at least during the last 50 years. Due to the peculiar pattern on Mexican migration, Mexico and the United States should work together more in adult, children, and bilingual education as a whole and in relation to the needs of immigrants and their families.

This paper describes briefly, the reform in adult education in Mexico and possible parallels with other countries. Next, useful figures and data are offered on Mexican migration to the United States. A few references will be given to successful cases in immigrant education. Finally, some comments will be made on the problems of immigrant education in the United States and further cooperation from Mexico, the sending country, as an example of what other country-pairs can do.

## Introduction

There is universal agreement on what children and youth should learn during the years of compulsory education (9 to 12 years, depending on the country). It took the world almost a century to reach this consensus. The 20th century was the century of universal basic education for children and youth, even though there are still a few countries, especially Muslim, where a large proportion of girls do not go to school. Adult education will become the topic for the 21st century.

Developed countries reached universal education early in the century, while the rest of the world only recently achieved educational coverage, but the aspiration of every country is the same: to reach every school person within the compulsory age bracket.

Education has thus become a gigantic industry in every country, the most labor intensive of all. It is composed of hundreds of thousands of individuals in every country, with their own traditions and manner of doing things. For many years the educational systems did not accept responsibility for those that abandoned the system before finishing. From here derived the famous and ugly words *drop-outs*.

The need for adult education was recognized later in the century. For example, in Mexico the first adult education law was passed in 1975; it defined as an adult any Mexican over 15, who had not covered at least 9 grades of compulsory education. Other countries have different target groups and definitions. Adult education is seen as vocational training, not just literacy and numeracy for members of the workforce. The concept of lifelong learning appeared later and encompassed almost all categories of adult education.

Developed countries who thought they had solved the literacy problem because the great majority of their populations had gone through compulsory education, suddenly found that it was not so. Large portions of the labor force were functionally illiterate because in their lives they did not have any use for what they learned.

Simultaneously, the elderly populations of developed countries are rising while in some of them the school is decreasing like in Spain. Sooner or later many more young immigrants will be needed to perform all tasks and they will need to be integrated to the older societies, recognizing their cultural and linguistic differences. This is a colossal challenge for society, its educational systems, and especially for immigrants. The problem will become more and more acute as the years go by.

Mexico has sent the largest number of migrants received by the United States in recent decades. As neighbors with a 2,000-mile common border, which is crossed yearly more than 300 million times, both countries offer through their multiple experience and practices in adult education, very good examples for countries with similar problems.

# Adult Education in Mexico

## Background

Like in almost any country, we can find isolated efforts to educate adults in Mexico at the beginning of the century. There were night schools for workers and some efforts related to the training of the laborers with a low level of schooling. In 1900, more than 80 percent of Mexicans were illiterate and the main priority of all successive governments since that time, especially after the Mexican Revolution, 1910–20, was to develop a national school system. In 1998, less than 10 percent of persons older than 15 were illiterate, and the school system offers basic education to 95 percent of the school-age population. During the decades of construction of the educational system, many Mexicans were left behind; they either did not have the opportunity of going to school or the system did not yet offer full cycles of study.

Starting in 1945, colossal national literacy campaigns were mounted with the elementary purpose to teach how to read and write through volunteers and few written materials. All of these efforts failed because adults learned how to read and write simple texts in a few months, nothing changed in their lives, and they reverted to illiteracy, because they had no use for it, or did not perceive any use for it.

It was not until the mid-1970s when the government assumed responsibility for the education of adults. First, in 1973, the National Education Law was changed to allow open education. The old law did not permit any person except a teacher to examine and accredit their students. Next, in 1975, an Adult Education Law was enacted. For the purposes of the law, an adult was defined as a person older than 15 who had not finished at least 9 grades of compulsory education.

The Law ordered the establishment of a national system for adult education where literacy, open primary and secondary–which means in Mexico grades seven through nine–was offered through the study of specially developed materials, and accredited in a diverse succession of independent and partial evaluations until the adult completed primary (grade) school and secondary school (grade nine). The adults gathered in study circles, received the texts they had to study, had a quasi-volunteer external advisor, not a professional teacher, and were examined periodically. The system was based in self-study and social solidarity.

In 1975, special texts were developed for adults in literacy and four other areas: Spanish, Mathematics, Social Science, and Natural Science. In 1981, a special institution was created exclusively for adult education in the sense described above: *Instituto Nacional para la educacion de los adultos, (INEA)*, the National Adult Education Institute. INEA was developed separately from the regular and formal education system, which has only a few night schools for workers whose presence is required, a certain number of workday hours, and follow the curricula set for youngsters.

## Present Situation

During the eighties, employers required a basic education school certificate for almost every job and, INEA filled this void offering workers the completion of their basic education through open systems of learning. But currently with the extension of the formal system, 90 percent of the workforce has at least nine grades of schooling. Those that do not fulfill this requirement are mostly elderly workers.

During the early part of the nineties, it became more and more difficult to enroll adults in INEA's curriculum, because it offered only one option to complete basic education. The same curriculum was offered to women, men, farmers, young, and mature adults. Besides, 30 or 40 years ago it was thought that adults who did not have the opportunity of finishing school would learn later in life more or less the contents of basic education for children. INEA's curriculum was developed in the seventies with these ideas in mind. They had to learn from life in order to survive. Also, no attention was paid to their specific and diverse needs, they were simply not addressed. A deep reform was needed, which took into account the findings of modern research, of which one fundamental principle is that adult education should be needs based. Adults learn only what they perceive as immediately interesting and useful to them and their lives.

INEA has been working intensively throughout Mexico ever since its inception, always with a very small budget. In spite of this, for the last 26 years it has given more than 1,300,000 grade-school certificates and 1,240,000 secondary-school certificates. At present, about 182,000 adult basic-education certificates are given each year. But this is still a very low figure for the needs of the country.

In 1997, Mexico's formal school system served almost 29 million students, of which about 19.3 million were in compulsory education: grades: one through nine. Thirty percent of a country's population registered in schools is high for a developed and old nation, but not enough for a young one. We still have a low percentage of students in higher education, about 14 percent of the 18–24 year bracket, compared to the 24 percent in the United States. The terminal efficiency of the basic education system is still low. Out of 100 students entering first grade, only 48 will finish ninth grade. Most students leave without finishing compulsory education for financial reasons, their families require the children to help provide for their needs. As a consequence, every year the pool of adults older than 15 who require basic education is increased by 800,000.

We define *rezago educativo,* "those left behind," as the group of Mexicans over 15 who have not finished 9 grades of compulsory education. They are the target group for adult education. At the end of 1977, the terrible numbers are as follows: 6 million are illiterate, 12 million did not finish grade school, and 18 million having finished grade school, did not finish 9th grade. Altogether 36 million men and women, 65 percent of the population, are older than 15. Except for the illiterates, where there are more women, the proportion of genders in the other groups is more or less the same. Economically they comprise the poorest part of Mexico, include most of the inhabitants of the Indian communities, and represent perhaps the gravest social problem in the country. The majority of migrants to the United States come from these groups.

Research was undertaken to find out what Mexican adults had learned from their lives and what they wanted to learn. It was the first time ever an adult was asked that question. During 1996 and part of 1997, more than 20,000 adults were interviewed in every state of Mexico. The sample covered more or less the same proportion of women and men and ranged from age 15 on up among rural, urban, and Indian communities. Another variable was previous schooling. Three equal groups were taken: no schooling, up to 6 years, and up to 8 years of education. After registering their basic data, the main questions were "What do you do?" "What else can you do?" There is a very precise word in Spanish for these, ***saberes*** the closest translation in English would be ***whole experiential skills***, commonly known as "know how." We decided not to have a previous list of ***saberes,*** but rather jot down the answers and the description of the skills as they explained it. After some discussion, *it* was decided that being a housewife was a ***saber,*** and therefore, more than the sum of some abilities. The same with ***campesino,*** "fieldworker." The second set of questions were, "What would you like to learn?" and "What else would you like to learn?"

Even though the sample was perhaps not big enough to detect fully the whole diversity, the results were sufficiently clear in order to trace the course of changes that should be intended. The only significant variable was gender. Whether young or mature, urban or rural, with or without schooling, they all wanted to learn a limited number of practical skills. The six most frequent skills identified regardless of gender totaled about 60 percent of those interviewed. For women: cooking, dressmaking, beautician arts, confectionery, and knitting. For men: carpentry, electricity, car repairing, masonry, and computing. Basic education as a thing to learn in general appeared in both groups. Computing was frequent, but not among the first six in women.

Perhaps the explanation of such concentrated selection resides in the occupations. The ***rezago*** is the other Mexico, the poor Mexico. About 10 percent of them have permanent jobs. The rest of this sector consists of persons working or surviving in the informal economy, street vendors, housewives, or ***campesinos*** (field laborers), who eat all they produce and have to sell their artisan wares in the town market. Mexican adults in need of basic education are not part of the workforce. They know there are no regular jobs around and the only way they can improve the quality of their lives is by learning something they can control and sell. The answers then are very rational.

INEA conducted other studies on the modes of operation of its system and started upgrading technology to apply and grade exams. Taking into account the latest research on the way adults learn, INEA established the principal tenets for the reform:

- The educational offer should be diversified according to the needs of different groups;
- The skills learned by the adult during his or her life should be taken into account for a basic education certificate;
- The ways of acquiring knowledge and skills should be as flexible as possible;
- Training should count as should any previous schooling;
- No matter what the content, the adult should be convinced that it will be immediately useful to improve his or her life; and
- A minimum amount of language, math, and science skills (operational and communicational) should be acquired during the process.

Millions are now studying under the old linear and traditional mode and cannot suddenly be shifted, therefore ,the new model has to fit the traditional one and be applied gradually. Among the younger population of adults, in the 15- to -25-year-olds there are thousands who try to finish basic education through INEA in order to continue on to high school and higher education, and they are successful.

The basic elements of the new adult education model of INEA are:

*Academic modules*

> They are being constructed along three lines, math, language, and science, from literacy to relevant contents and abilities roughly equivalent to our present open secondary program. The final level is not yet known, because everything is being field tested right now. There will be a succession of modules, each with printed materials of about 40 pages each, which will include final evaluations. By the end of the year we will probably have about 24 modules for all three lines.

*Diversified modules*

> Other modules will be offered based on the needs expressed by the adults, (i.e., cooking, carpentry, and so forth) through which adults will also improve their math and language abilities.

*Training and vocational courses*

> If the adult wishes to take any of the established vocational courses offered in our country, his successful effort will count towards earning a basic adult education certificate. So far, more that 15,000 of these courses are registered, ranging from haute cuisine to computing.

*Modernized system of independent evaluations*

> All evaluations will be computer produced and graded. They will be based on the requirements of each module.

Instead of giving a fixed compensation to supervisors, advisors, and volunteers for their work with adults, a small amount will be given for each successful exam. If the supervisor is at the same time a school principal, he would have an incentive to convert his school, off-hours, into an adult education center, which seldom happened before.

## An Adult's Journey Toward a Basic Education Certificate

It was necessary to develop a system of points or credits, in order to be flexible and take into account many different inputs for each adult. The journey can be expressed as an equation which adds parts measured in points.

### *Previous schooling plus saberes plus vocational courses plus modules = 200 points (minimum)*

Commencing in 1999, adults in Mexico will have a greatly expanded set of options to earn a basic education certificate. To start with, points will be given for any previous schooling. For example, 50 points for having finished fifth grade years ago, and so on. A maximum of 20 points will be assigned for *saberes,* depending on his or her age. A vocational course could be accredited, the points depending on the number of course hours. Finally they can take several modules to complete the required number of points. For adults with less than 3 years of schooling, the first two modules in math, language, and science are compulsory.

A brief explanation has been given above of the basis for adult education in Mexico and a sense of the directions of the reform in progress. For lack of space, many details have been omitted. Mexico has a great tradition in developing printed matter for the whole country. This is one of its educational strengths. The success of the adult education reform will depend on the appropriateness and variety offered by the printed texts to the needs of adults. At any rate, all materials will be experimental and in continuous improvement.

## Mexican Migration

Migration of Mexicans to the United States is a structural phenomenon in both societies. Mexico has never been able to provide satisfactory work to all its inhabitants and therefore, those not satisfied with their conditions and expectations migrate to the northern neighbor in search for a better future. This is a Mexican tragedy. For more than a century millions of Mexicans have contributed to the development of the United States and not to their home country. The problem is accentuated by the enormous economic differences of both countries, with a 2000-mile common border which facilitates and induces migration.

The pattern of Mexican migration to the United States is very different than migration from other countries. Most Mexicans go to visit a close neighbor with the firm intention of returning to their home country, sooner or later. The pattern is also circular. First, Mexicans go for a few months each year during several years and when they find permanent work, they settle and raise families. This has been going on for more that 150 years.

The Mexican-American community was born with the independence of Texas and was initially defined in 1848, after the war, when Mexico lost more than half of its original territory. The new border "crossed" Mexicans who had been there since before the war. Historians estimate this initial group at about 84,000, from California to Texas. Almost immediately after the war, Mexicans started migrating to the United States. There has been a continuous and increasing flow ever since, as the following gross figures show: the 1990 figures correspond to the last U.S. Census. Estimates from a recent bi-national study on Mexico-United States migration put the total Mexican origin population close to 20 million and the Mexican born population presently living in the United States at about 7 million, an increase of 2.5 million in only 6 years. The average age of these 7 million immigrants is about 20, with almost 10 million descendants born in the United States or in Mexico. Among the 7 million, there are around 2 million undocumented Mexican workers of which one-third goes back and forth between both countries. Many of them are male migrant workers who follow the crops from California to Oregon, or from Florida to the Carolinas. Female immigrants tend to work in the service industry and in factories.

Mexican immigrants are concentrated in a handful of states, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Texas (the original states that were Mexican territories before 1848), and also in Illinois, New York, and New Jersey. About 70 percent live there, the other 30 percent is spread out in all other states.

# Immigrant Education

## Some Numbers

It is difficult to estimate the exact number of immigrants and their children requiring education. The United States educational system is totally decentralized. There are more than 16,000 school districts coordinated by the states. Each of them is fairly independent in the way they define a Limited English Proficiency (LEP) student.

The numerical importance of Spanish as the original language of immigrants in the United States can be seen from LEP student estimates made for the whole country by Hopstock and Bucaro in 1933. After comparing several and sometimes widely diverging sources, they estimate the total number of LEP students between the ages of 5 and 17 years old at 2.4 million, that is 5.5 percent of the total student population. The figure can be slightly larger in 1998 due to increasing migration in recent years. What is important is the original language of the students: 73 percent spoke Spanish 1.7 million. The other 27 percent was divided into 20 other languages of which the most commonly spoken was Vietnamese with almost 4 percent. About one-third of the students were born in the United States and almost 20 percent had lived in the United States for less than 1 year.

The Emergency Immigrant Education Act (EIEA) was passed by Congress in response to the financial challenges facing school districts with large numbers of immigrant children. About $30 million are appropriated each year and distributed to school districts in 37 states. California receives 44 percent and New York 21 percent. Not every school district applies for these funds. There are other federal grants for similar purposes. The program served 350,000 students in 1984–85 and 826,000 in 1993–94. Students from over 100 countries participated in the program— 40 percent from Mexico, and 50 percent from all Spanish-speaking countries (Mexico, El Salvador, and the Dominican Republic). Vietnam was the second largest with about 5 percent of the total.

Both sources coincide—the largest proportion of immigrants by far come from Mexico.

## General Remarks

The topic of immigrant education will become more and more important for many developed countries, whose original populations are getting older and even, in some cases, decreasing. Someone said that a century from now there will be no Italians. Young migrants from other countries will be arriving in larger and larger numbers and will settle, have children and grandchildren. This has been the case in the United States, a country of immigrants. Many problems occur when the newly arrived immigrants begin to settle and adapt to the new mores. Many lessons can be learned from the history of the United States in this regard.

At the beginning of the century, the only preoccupation about non-English speaking immigrants and their children was that they be obliged to learn barely enough English to perform their jobs. The children were placed in regular schools where only English was used and, of course, performed very poorly and lagged behind. There were some schools, not very many, that offered instruction in the original language of the children, while also they learned English. In all those decades, many techniques were developed to teach English as a Second Language (ESL). Some of them were applied in regular schools as an addition to the curriculum. Immigrant children continued doing poorly. Serious research was undertaken on all of these issues.

As the years went by, the Mexican-American community grew in numbers and demanded equal opportunities for the education of its children. The same demands were made by other immigrant communities. The situation improved dramatically after the passing of the Civil Rights Law in 1964. Four years later the Bilingual Education Act was approved, and funds were allocated to the school districts, in order to establish innovative programs for the education of children whose mother tongue was not English.

Research had shown that children should be taught the core curriculum in their original language, while they learned English as a second language for several years, until they could continue their education in English. But most important of all, their original culture was to be valued and respected in the school environment and used to learn other topics in both languages. If these conditions were met, immigrant children did not lag behind and by the end of fourth or fifth grade, their language and math skills were at the same level as their English speaking contemporaries.

Today school-age children within the immigrant communities have very good opportunities to attend institutions with a proper bilingual program, especially if they reside in districts with large concentrations of immigrants. Their parents do not have the same opportunities immediately upon arrival into the United States. There are several reasons for this. First, they have to work very hard, 8 to 12 hours a day, in low paying jobs, and therefore can not find the time to go to adult education courses. Other than acquiring the rudiments of oral English in their everyday contacts, they do not progress any further. Second, most of the newcomers have a low level of education in their mother tongue. Typically, Mexicans arrive with 2 or 3 years of schooling in Spanish. Third, many of the ESL courses offered are English-only courses. The teacher does not use the student's language or culture at all, and when the adults attend they feel diminished, have little or no grasp of the lessons, and leave after a few classes. Fourth, many of them are undocumented and are afraid to go to class.

A substantial number of recent Mexican immigrants arrive with a greater level of instruction, even high school or more. They have fewer problems in adapting, because their educational level allows them to find better jobs and learn better English. It is clear that the more you know in your mother tongue, the easier it is for you to acquire a second language. A different problem results when an immigrant from Mexico arrives with adolescent children who finished 8 or 9 years of instruction in Spanish and tries to enroll them in high school. The children are given English proficiency tests, fail miserably and are placed in grades that are well below their age and knowledge level, with an almost permanent loss of self-esteem. Fewer high schools than grade or middle schools have full bilingual instruction, which has been shown as successful for introducing English to teens who otherwise have a very good level of math and science in their mother tongues.

Many mature immigrant adults have the opportunity of vocational training for new and better paying occupations in industry after residing in the United States for several years. There are many excellent organizations providing this type of service. The best of these accompany vocational training with English and Spanish (or other language) literacy and mathematics courses.

While there is abundant research on second language acquisition and the proper practice for elementary and middle schools, the situation is not the same for mathematics learning. Math education is in an uproar, in general, not just as applied to numerical and immigrant education. Not only in the United States, but in Mexico, the underlying problems are the same: math lessons are taught by rote; elementary school teachers are not properly trained and have fear of math. Mathematics is at the same time a language for thinking and a tool for solving practical problems. Many of the materials that stress one or the other perspective are not clearly focused and often involve huge lists of meaningless exercises. For mature persons this is a particularly difficult topic, because the great majority of materials available do not convince adults that math will be useful to them in their daily lives. Much more work is needed on successful practices. In the following paragraphs, general comments will be made on the basis for successful practices for educating Mexican immigrants and their children in the United States. They will serve as examples for other countries. For those who want to follow details, theories, research, and teaching methods, there is a veritable wealth of information on the World Wide Web. Some directions to the most important sites will be indicated at the end of this text.

The following general principles to immigrant education have been taken from several reports on exemplary cases and studies:

- Learning is not a piecemeal, behaviorist process, but an internal response to experiences. The individual derives meaning from outside input when it is presented as an integrated whole related to his or her own experiences.

- The more comprehensive the use of the primary language, the greater the potential to maximize the student's academic achievement. Even though circumstances may limit the school's capability to fully develop a student's primary language, there are always ways to nurture it.

- The more solid the foundation in the primary language, the greater the chances of academic achievement in the second language.

- Limited-English-proficient students can be provided with substantial amounts of primary language instruction without impeding their acquisition of English language reading and math skills. Math skills are more solidly grounded if learned in both first and second languages.

- Decisions regarding transition to formal second language instruction cannot be made arbitrarily and be the same for all students. They have to be assessed according to first and second language developments.

- Parents and the community need to play a major role in the learning process of their children.

- Instruction must be organized to help students understand and respect themselves and their own culture, as well as the culture of the broader society.

- A comprehensive vision of school environment is essential to provide outstanding education where limited English proficiency students are fully integrated to all activities.

A general conclusion in all successful cases is that the teacher should be cognizant of the student's original culture and language. The ideal bilingual teacher is an educated and well-integrated immigrant or immigrant descendant from same or similar origin as his or her students. There is a huge shortage of this type of teacher in the United States.

There is no unique or perfect solution for immigrant education of children and mature adults. A good result can be achieved in many ways depending on the locality, the community setting, and support from state and district authorities.

## Collaboration from Mexico

In the particular case of Mexico and the United States, because of the vicinity, there are many possibilities of collaboration to improve the education of immigrants. The following types of actions are current, but in each there is much room for growth:

### *Teacher training and other actions:*

- Twelve Mexican universities offer summer courses in Spanish and Mexican culture to bilingual teachers and staff from the school districts with large concentration of children of Mexican origin.

- Many Mexican immigrants have been schoolteachers in Mexico. Thirty of them became bilingual teachers in California after taking a 2-year program. Based on this experience, a larger project is being proposed in which at least five U.S. universities and several school districts will be involved. They will be coordinated through the Intercultural Development Research Association and the Mexican and American Solidarity Foundation.

- A few dozen Mexican teachers every year go to the United States to give lectures or short courses on the didactics of teaching math and science in Spanish.

- Some groups of U.S. teachers visit Mexico and go to their student's original communities.

- During the summers, 50 or 60 Mexican physical education teachers go to summer camps at different communities in the United States. They give talks on the history of Mexico besides organizing the children in different sports activities.

- Mexico has sent grade school teachers to Chicago and Los Angeles, to become regular bilingual teachers in school districts in the United States. This is mostly symbolic because Mexico could not afford to be a main source of bilingual teachers. It does not have enough qualified teachers.

- For children of migrant workers who spend part of the year in the United States and part in Mexico, several state governments and Mexico's federal government have developed a transfer certificate where the teachers note the level of studies, so that when the child goes to the other country the children can be placed properly in school.

- Mexico has an educational satellite system in which distant learning is provided. The largest component is the contents of junior high school, besides other television courses and cultural programs. This signal is beginning to be taken by several school districts and some community based organizations, to reinforce learning of core subjects in Spanish.

- There is a project not yet in place to connect children and schools in Mexico and the United States through computers.

### Adult Education in Spanish

- A few thousand Mexican immigrants are following adult education courses from INEA's curricula and materials, advised by volunteers. They will earn a Basic Education Certificate from Mexico. In some cases these courses are combined with English literacy courses in the United States school district sites.

- Starting sometime this year INEA will recognize as credits for a Mexican certificate many vocational and ESL courses Mexican immigrants take in the United States. The benefits of this action are two-fold: it boosts the self-esteem of Mexican immigrants who see their home country has not forgotten them, and helps them accumulate credits for a Mexican certificate, which will be useful to them if they return to Mexico, as many do after a few years.

### Printed Materials and Books in Spanish

- For some years now the Ministry of Public Education of Mexico has sporadically sent children and adult texts, as well as general books in Spanish, to some school districts in the United States. This action, as all others, should be made systematic and broadened in scope.

## Web Sites

http://www.ncbe.gwu.edu

National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education. One of the most comprehensive Web sites, with an impressive library of pertinent papers and reports.

http://www.cal.org

CAL Center for Applied Linguistics. Maintains several clearinghouses in the Web, including one for literacy education. (Add *.ncle* to the above address)

http://www.idra.org

This site contains many texts on adult numeracy. Of special interest is "A Framework for Adult Numeracy Standards: The Mathematical Skills and Abilities Adults Need to be Equipped for the Future," which can be downloaded.

# Postscript

I learned many things from the Conference, especially the fact that we are all in the same boat: (a) we do not really know how adults learn and (b) in every country there is very little money for adult education programs. We have not been able to sell our wares. We have not convinced governments that the education of adults is one of the most vital tasks for any country. This is why OECD's efforts on behalf of adult education are of paramount importance; they raise the level of awareness on the topic. But the problem is planetary, not only of the OECD countries. There is an incredible distance between what adults in Sweden need and their relatively small numbers, and what millions, more than one-third of the population, need in Mexico. The same could be said of the problems of France or Germany compared to those of Brazil or India.

As we see a few decades into the next century, with their veritable rivers of migrants going to the stronger economies, the problem becomes one for the developed countries with their aging populations in dire need of migrants. This is why I propose OECD should organize small meetings or focus groups to analyze public policies and programs for adult education in underdeveloped countries, where the quantity of the demand becomes quality. We are talking about many millions of people in each country. The argument is that the problem will impinge sooner or later on OECD member countries, beyond Mexico and Turkey. We should think on the globalization of poverty and how to deal with it.

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During 1996 and 1997, the Ministry of Education established a selection exam to allocate high school applicants to the public schools of Metropolitan Mexico City. About a quarter million students were assigned places each year of whom more than 3,000 came from INEA's system, and the second best exam in 1997 was from a 25-year-old INEA student.

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# Australia's Migrants and Refugees: Opening the Door to Lifelong Learning

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## Abstract

This context paper has been written to provide background for my Immigration Workshop presentation on *Australia's Migrants and Refugees: Opening the Door to Lifelong Learning.* In keeping with the theme of the conference, it focuses on groups of migrants and refugees with low educational attainment and limited first language literacy.

The first section situates Australia's immigration program within national economical development. The second section outlines the development of policy and programs relating to language and literacy education for migrants and refugees. It describes how policy and institutional approaches recognize diversity in the design and delivery of services.

The third section summarizes research undertaken within the Adult Migrant English Program to identify groups of adult learners with special needs and the learning barriers that face them. These studies focus on how characteristics, expectations, and precious experiences of learning influence migrant learners' attempts to interpret and cope with the curriculum, teaching methodology, resources, and tasks of the Australian language classroom. The section also details policies and practices developed to overcome these barriers and improve the effectiveness of learning. Actual exemplars of curriculum, successful classroom practices, and resources will be discussed at the workshop.

## Historical Context

### The Australian Postwar Immigration Program

In 1945, the Australian Government launched a large-scale planned immigration program aimed at building the country's postwar infrastructure. Over the last five decades 5.5 million settlers from 160 different countries have established new lives in Australia (York 1995:7).

From the end of the Second World War and into the 1960s, Australia welcomed large numbers of assisted immigrants, refugees, and displaced persons from the UK and Europe—many unskilled and from rural backgrounds. The profile of migrants changed in the 1970s following the Vietnam War with the entry of large numbers of Indo-Chinese refugees. By the 1980s, the immigration program reflected a considerably greater diversity, with arrivals in any 1 year coming from over 120 source countries from Asia, the former USSR, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. Intakes also reflected increased skill levels and higher qualification levels. Although the UK continued as the largest single source country, by 1993–94 the proportion of settler arrivals from mainly English speaking countries had fallen from two-thirds during the postwar years to one-quarter of the overall intake, and 5 out of the top 10 source countries had shifted to the Asian region.

By the 1990s, economic circumstances in Australia had greatly altered. Three successive recessions led to large numbers of retrenchments, low employment growth, and a high level of unemployment. The restructuring of industry to achieve global competitiveness exacerbated retrenchments. Hardest hit were the manufacturing, mining, and construction industries—sectors that had absorbed large numbers of unskilled migrants. Among the first workers to lose their jobs were many postwar entrants who had low levels of literacy in English and had difficulty retraining in the competencies required for the new workplace. Many had immigrated from Italy and Greece over 20 years ago and had chosen to work long hours in factories, rather than study English, to establish a future for their families. [The 1996 *Survey of Aspects of Literacy* reports that 79 percent of people aged 55–74 years from non-English speaking backgrounds have been identified as having very poor literacy skills (Crawford 1997, 4–5).]

Migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds swelled the ranks of the unemployed. Overseas born men and women from Vietnam, the Middle East, North Africa, and Lebanon were significantly over-represented among the long-term unemployed (Federal Race Discrimination Commissioner 1994).

Not only did migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds lose jobs earlier and at a faster rate than the Australian born or migrants from English speaking backgrounds, their recovery was also considerably slower (Ackland and Williams 1992, 29–30). Those without formal skills had difficulty finding work in a dramatically changed industry context where growth had shifted to new service and knowledge industries. Reliance on new technologies and high-level communication skills virtually excluded them from these growth areas. New recruitment practices utilized resumes, formal interviews, and written tests to select applicants with good literacy and numeracy skills.

Continuing high migrant unemployment has led to both a reduction in size as well as a rebalancing in the composition of the immigration program. More emphasis is now given to the selection of skilled and business migrants with good English language proficiency rather than *family reunion* categories.

The new immigration program has also introduced the principle of user pays to a range of services, including up-front fees for English language tuition for some immigrant categories and the exclusion of some categories from income support during the first 2 years of settlement. The refugee humanitarian program remains unchanged, with those entering under these categories continuing to receive full benefits and support from government.

## The Adult Migrant English Program

The Australian Government established the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) as an integral part of its postwar immigration strategy to facilitate the settlement process. Unlike the United States and Canada, the Australian orientation program focused on English language development rather than direct training for naturalization (Martin, quoting McCusker 1998, 4–5).

The first English classes were conducted for European displaced persons in 1947 at the Bonegilla Reception and Training center for Migrants in rural Victoria. The program expanded over the next decades, with flexibility as a key feature. Intensive full-time classes and bridging programs for professionals were added to the earlier suite of evening continuation classes. Formal courses were taught in migrant hostels, community centers, church halls, and venues accessible to local transport and at times, which suited the clients. Industry based programs, later named *English in the Workplace,* were organized from as early as 1952 for employees in public sector industries and large manufacturing companies (Martin 1998, 7). Evening and Friday night/Saturday morning classes provided flexible options for employed migrants who had no access to workplace provision. A Home Tutor Scheme organized regular home visits and informal one-to-one tutorials for the housebound, particularly women. Distance Learning mode catered for the needs of those isolated by geographic distance, transport difficulties, work, health, or family commitments.

The AMEP was a partnership between the Commonwealth Government and the States/Territories, with Commonwealth Department of Immigration providing funds and policy directions and each State Department of Education establishing a specific-purpose organization called Adult Migrant Education Services (AMES) to manage and deliver the program.

A series of Commonwealth Government reviews of the AMEP (Galbally Review 1978; Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs Review 1981; Campbell Review 1985) led to substantial upgrading of post-arrival services to cope with the dramatic explosion in size and diversity of the immigration program.

A network of adult language teaching centers was established wherever large communities of migrants settled. The Australian Second Language Proficiency Rating (Ingram and Wiley 1979) was developed to provide a common language assessment scale. The teaching workforce was professionalized through the generous policy of study leave for teachers to gain specialist qualifications in teaching English as a Second Language (ESL). An alliance was established between AMEP providers and a key academic center for teaching and research, now known as the National Center for English Language Teaching and Research. Teachers working across State and institutions, supported by academics, collaboratively took on curriculum development and classroom-based action research. The AMEP developed a distinctive learner-centered needs-based communicative methodology, much in line with developments in international Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), gradually distinguishing itself and taking on a leading role in this arena.

Growth and professionalization of adult TESOL took place in an environment of relative autonomy from other developments in education because the portfolio of Immigration rather than Education managed program funding, until the 1990s. Unhampered by various structural and ideological changes in State education, AMEP providers continued to forge strong professional links across State boundaries and implemented a nationally consistent approach to learner assessment, curriculum, methodology, and research. Unlike mainstream education, students and teachers in the AMEP could move across courses, providers, and states with a fair degree of continuity and coherence.

Despite its high professional quality, English language tuition for adults remained marginalized in the migrant settlement program, outside mainstream education. Both Commonwealth and the state governments regarded it as part of immigration services rather education. There was no mechanism to accredit courses, issue credentials, or transfer credits into higher education or vocational programs.

## Current Context

### From Margin to Mainstream

In the 1990s, a convergence of factors provided the impetus for moving English language teaching from the fringes into mainstream vocational education and training reform. Research undertaken during the International Year of Literacy uncovered the extent of adult illiteracy among the Australian born (Wickert 1989), raising considerable concern in the community.

The restructuring of Australian industry served to highlight vital, but hitherto hidden, links between language/literacy skills and employment, productivity, and training. Companies discovered that, even after streamlining their workforce, many core operatives still required literacy assistance to be able to undertake retraining and implement new work-team responsibilities. A survey by the Victorian Automotive Industry Training Board in 1991 found that 78.9 percent of English speaking shop-floor operators and 95.1 percent of those from non-English speaking backgrounds required professional assistance with writing to be able to attempt the Vehicle Industry Certificate (Sefton and O'Hara 1992).

### The Australian Language and Literacy Policy

*Australia's Language: Australian Language and Literacy Policy,* a white paper released by the Commonwealth Government in 1991, changed the national approach to language education by clearly situating it within the core of labor market strategy and the National Training Reform Agenda. The 1991 policy transferred a substantial portion of funding for English language and literacy from the migrant settlement program to mainstream vocational education and training.

Under the National Training Reform Agenda, government and industry initiated a major program of reforms, to ensure the immediate relevance of vocational education and training to the needs of the industry. These reforms provide the current policy for the provision of English language teaching.

New work patterns with responsibilities devolved to work teams, new technologies, and new products for new unpredictable markets have increased the demand for complex language and literacy skills. Workplace English language programs integrate language and literacy development with vocational skills, occupational health and safety, quality, and team building modules to ensure that workers from all language and educational backgrounds are able to access Industry Certificates, career paths, and improved award payments.

Competency based ESL Certificates have been developed and mapped against the national qualifications framework to ensure portability and articulation into other vocational Certificates. Vocational competencies and job-search skills are integrated with English language programs provide a 2-week component of work experience to familiarize job seekers with current technologies and Australian work culture.

## Institutional and Program Arrangements

The Australian Language and Literacy Policy established shared portfolio responsibilities for ESL and literacy. The Department of Employment, Education, Training, and Youth Affairs (DEETYA) has taken on responsibility for training provisions for both employed workers and the unemployed. Language and literacy training for employed workers is provided through the *Workplace English Language and Literacy (WELL)* program. A variety of labor-market training programs and services assist disadvantaged job seekers develop language, literacy, numeracy, and employment related skills.

Within each of these programs, variations in client background and needs are recognized through offering a range of targeted programs, as well as adjustments in eligibility criteria, compliance requirements, and specification of outcomes. Increasing emphasis is also given to flexible delivery and user choice as conditions of funding or in the purchase of services.

### *Settlement Provision: The Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP)*

Adult migrants and refugees with English language proficiency below functional level, assessed against the Australian Second Language Proficiency Rating scale, are eligible for 510 hours of ESL tuition. They are required to register with the program within 3 months of arrival, start their tuition within 1 year and complete within 3 years. Course provision within the AMEP is based on a nationally accredited competency-based curriculum framework, covering the first 3 levels of the Certificates in Spoken and Written English (CSWE) (NSW AMES 1995).

The CSWE framework provides learner pathways that have flexible entry and exit points, recognize prior learning, and allow for variation in learning pace, course length, and intensity, and delivery mode. The framework describes learners according to three dimensions: (a) their language proficiency level, (i.e., *stage*), (b) their learning pace, (i.e., *band*) and (c) their needs and goals in learning English, (i.e., *learning goals*).

The different learning pace of learners is recognized through three Bands. Band A tends to have limited learning experience on formal settings, (i.e., low levels of formal education and literacy in first language). Band B learners generally have some learning strategies and/or resources, having accessed secondary education in their home country and are literate in first language. Band C learners have high level of learning resources and some postsecondary education and/or technical skills training. Learning pace, course intensity, and methodology are varied to match learner groups.

### *AMEP Client Profile*

Information extracted from the national AMEP database (NMIU 1998) indicates that in 1997 there were 39,129 language learners in the program. Clients in the Refugee and Special Humanitarian (30.4 percent) and Family (49.6 percent) categories made up the vast majority of participants.

The top five countries of origin of 1997 participants were the Peoples' Republic of China (25.5 percent), Vietnam (9.1 percent), Yugoslavia (8.8 percent), Iraq (5.5 percent) and the former USSR (4.2 percent). The major refugee and humanitarian groups were born in Yugoslavia, Iraq, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Vietnam, USSR, Iran, Croatia, Somalia, Sri Lanka, and Burma. While females made up the majority (60.4 percent) of all AMEP participants, they represented only 46.5 percent of the refugee and humanitarian cohort.

Analysis of educational background shows that 12.9 percent had 0–7 years of formal schooling, 76.1 percent had 8–12 years, and 7.1 percent had over 12 years of education (4 percent not stated). The breakdown for refugee and humanitarian clients reflects similar proportions.

A significant majority entered the program at pre-intermediate levels of English proficiency. Mapped against the Certificate levels, 64.1 percent of clients entered at Stage 1, 24.6 percent at Stage 2, and 11.3 percent at Stage 3. Clients with a Band A profile comprised 24.5 percent of all new enrollments, most of them entering at Stage 1.

### *Labor Market Training*

In the early- to mid-1990s, two-labor market programs provided training programs that catered for job seekers from non-English speaking backgrounds who had special learning needs arising from limited first language literacy and minimal formal schooling.

### *Special Intervention Program (SIP)*

The *Special Intervention Program (SIP)* was set up specifically to meet the needs of job seekers that are disadvantaged by:

- English as a Second Language needs;
- Literacy needs;

- Outdated work skills, or
- Employment-related personal development needs.

Assistance of up to 52 weeks of full-time training within a 2-year period was provided to equip job seekers with the basic skills they require to undertake further training or to access employment. Professional assessments were undertaken to determine the individual's major barriers and ensure appropriate placement according to these needs.

The program offered 12 different types of ESL courses, including 5 ESL literacy courses to cater to adults with low oracy/low literacy, retrenched workers with intermediate oracy but low literacy, long term residents with oral proficiency but low to intermediate literacy. At the other end of the spectrum there were courses for the professionally qualified residents seeking advanced level English to reenter their profession. SIP also offered a range of numeracy and literacy courses for proficient/mother tongue English speakers.

The Special Intervention Program provided a pathway for many recently arrived migrants who were exiting the AMEP settlement program, but required further English tuition to become truly job competitive. The program was subsumed in 1996, along with a range of other targeted assisted schemes under the streamlined Job Seeker Preparation and Support program.

The *Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs Annual Report 1996–97* reported that 87,127 job seekers were assisted under various training components of Job Seeker Preparation and support in 1996–97 (1997, 124). Those from non-English speaking backgrounds "formed about 18 percent of the (Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) client) register in 1996–97 and achieved about 13 percent (48,000) of all job placements made by the CES. This group received about 10 percent of total labor market assistance in 1996–97" (1997, 114). The report also noted that 21,060 disadvantaged job seekers from language backgrounds other than English gained employment or study-related outcomes as a result of case management services (1997, 114).

### *Labor Adjustment Programs*

Labor Adjustment Programs were organized specifically to assist retrenched workers form the Textile, Clothing, and Footwear and the Passenger Motor Vehicles industries to retrain in new areas. These rapidly declining industries had high concentrations of postwar migrants, who upon arrival went straight into factories where they remained until the recessions of the late 1980s. An analysis of the participation of migrant women in labor-market programs (Junor et al. 1994) indicated that 1,794 non-English speaking background women participated in the Labor Adjustment Programs, making up 43.6 percent of all participants in 1993–94.

For many of the retrenches, this was the first opportunity to actually attend formal English classes. They had learned a spoken form of English on the job, oftentimes by communicating with other postwar migrants, but needed to develop skills in reading and writing. Although many of the learners in the Labor Adjustment Programs were older, they were highly motivated language learners and took great delight in participating in a formal classroom setting. For some learning to read and write in English opened up new forms of communication with younger generations of their family. The language courses helped them to explore realistic productive and employment options by involving them in volunteer work, craft stalls, job-search skills, and vocational-skills training and work experience.

Labor Adjustment Packages were discontinued in 1996. Earlier research into the participation of migrant women in labor-market programs acknowledged their positive outcomes, with a 66.7 percent success rate in 1993 compared with the 54.8 percent success rate for non-English speaking background women and 44.6 percent for all participants in the Special Intervention program (Junor et al.1994, 54, 90–90). The study commissioned by the Association of Non-English Speaking Background Women of Australia noted "*concerns about the brevity, quality, and discontinuity of the English courses provided under the SIP in 1993, 25 percent of SIP ESL classes ran for 6–13 weeks, and another 70 percent ran from 13–26 weeks*" (Junor et al. 194:47). This contrasted with the Labor Adjusted Program provision of 52 weeks of English language followed by 52 weeks of vocational skills training.

### *Job Network*

In May 1998, a new arrangement for assisting job seekers with employment services called *Job Network*, comes into operation. Under this arrangement over 300 private, community based and government service member organizations will be contracted to assist job seekers into employment. Under the most intensive form of support, called *Intensive Assistance,* member organizations will be paid up to almost $10,000 if they are able to place disadvantaged job seekers in employment for at least 26 weeks. It will be up to the contracted service provider to arrange language and literacy tuition, other forms of support, or individual clients.

### *On-the-job Training: Workplace English Language and Literacy (WELL) Program*

The Workplace English Language and Literacy (WELL) program funds specialist literacy and language provision in companies and industry sectors to help their operative workers access accredited vocational-skills training on the job. Training involves the concurrent development of language, literacy, numeracy, and vocational skills as interrelated elements of the learning program. Language is contextualized to meet the requirements of the job. Concurrent language and literacy support ensures that workers with limited competence in English, numeracy, or literacy is able to access and complete relevant vocational certificates. The attainment of Industry Certificates provided such benefits as improved pay rates, employer and peer recognition, and confidence to take on additional responsibilities.

Planning and delivery are supported by a workplace consultative process to ensure the on-going support of key stakeholders, particularly senior managers, and in some cases, on-site unions. Enterprises are expected to provide a percentage contribution to the costs of tuition.

In the first 3 years of its operation (1992–95), the program provided $32.8 million and reached 1,606 workplaces, delivering 2.5 million hours of training to 48,428 participants (Baylis 1995,15). The post-implementation review of the program concluded that it acted "as a catalyst for furthering the reform process in many enterprises, promoting the development of a training culture at work and influencing current workplace communication practices" (Baylis 1995, 1).

Workplace personnel identified four types of benefits:

- achievement of work related credentials;
- increased confidence and orientation to work;
- improved participation at work; and
- enhanced career pathways.

Evidence indicates a continuing need for language and literacy support. *One Size Fits Some* (Mawer and Field 1995) reports that while 50 percent of Australian-born workers have undertaken some training over the last few years, only 35 percent for non-English speaking backgrounds workers have had similar access, with the discrepancy being even greater for migrant women. It is encouraging that an increasing number of Industry Training Advisory Boards have recognized language and literacy development as a training priority.

## Exemplar: Adult Learners with Special Needs

A study commissioned by the government in 1995 to report on the adequacy of adult English language and literacy provision showed that clients with special needs were unlikely to achieve the target exit level of proficiency (NCELTR 1996). Program outcomes reported by the 1994 AMEP Review (McNaught and McGraw 1997, 32) indicated that while 78 percent of clients received an accredited award and 37 percent exited at the optimum target level of Certificate III, Band A profiles received no accredited award and only 8 percent attained the target Certificate III outcome. The study *Language Services for Non-English Speaking Background Women* (Plimer et al. 1996) also highlighted the limited progress made by groups of vulnerable learners, particularly women.

The following section summarizes classroom based action research undertaken in the AMEP settlement program to identify groups of adult learners with special needs and the precise nature of the learning barriers that face them. These studies focus on how characteristics, expectations, and previous experiences of learning influence migrant learners' attempts to interpret and cope with the curriculum, teaching methodology, resources, and tasks of the Australian language classroom. The section also outlines policies, practices, and program arrangements, which have been, developed to overcome these barriers and enhance learning. Exemplars from these investigations as well as teaching and learning resources developed to address these learner needs will be the focus of the workshop presentation.

## Classroom-Based Research and Curriculum Strategies

Much of the work on migrant and refugee learners with special needs has been brought together by in a report *Investigating Learner Outcomes for Clients With Special Needs in the Adult Migrant English Program.* Learner characteristics, which have been found to impact on the pace and success of formal language learning (McPherson 1997, 1), include:

- no formal education;
- limited formal education (i.e., less than 7 years);
- no experience of formal learning as adults;
- disrupted education due to war or other political crisis;
- functionally illiterate in first language;
- from non-roman script backgrounds;
- elderly;
- suffering severe effects of political torture and trauma; and
- cultural backgrounds and educational perspectives significantly different from those of Anglo-Australian culture.

In the AMEP, learners with one or more of these indicators are acknowledged as having special needs and therefore require instruction which takes account of these needs. An explicit pathway, referred to as *Band A* in the *Certificates of Spoken and Written English,* is now incorporated into the AMEP curriculum framework. Learners are offered a range of course options which vary in length, learning pace, intensity, focus, and delivery modes to best meet their disparate needs and backgrounds.

### *Learners with Minimal First Language Literacy*

Methodology emerging from various case studies of learners with limited first language literacy (Huntington 1992; Khoe and Kightley 1986; Green and Piperis 1987; Hood and Kightley 1991; Achren 1991; 1994; Ramm 1992, 1994) emphasize the need to focus on the learners' immediate personal experiences, cultural backgrounds, familiar topics, and concrete, real world material rather than abstract and decontextualized themes.

Careful analysis of learner responses to pedagogic practices common in language classrooms reveals that some of these activities assume too much shared cultural knowledge. The use of graphics and written work sheets which are intended to reinforce language and aid comprehension can confuse learners and thus become in themselves barriers to learning (Achren 1991). The introduction of abstract notions such as the alphabet and decontextualized vocabulary as preliminary steps to literacy can be devoid of meaning (Hood and Kightley 1991). Even simple line drawings may not be as transparent as teachers think for learner groups who do not have the same cultural frames and life experiences (Ramm 1994).

Special learning sequences need to be planned which begin with concrete experience and slowly build up to more complex and abstract concepts. Ramm (1994), for instance, recommends using real objects to set an immediate and meaningful context, gradually replacing them with photos or realistic pictures, then substituting these with more abstract diagrams and graphics. Huntington (1992) illustrates sequential course design based on a language experience approach to reading and writing for preliterate adult among refugees. Bilingual assistance is seen as invaluable in clarifying assumptions and interpretations of meanings.

### *Learners with Minimal Formal Schooling*

Learners who have had limited previous experience of formal education have difficulties managing information input, organizing learning material, following verbal and written instructions, and processing large chunks of new language (Badenhorst 1994, Hajncl 1994). They are distressed by error or by failure to recall learned language. They appear not to utilize information processing skills or pneumonic devices used by those with higher levels of education.

These learners benefit from the inclusion in the curriculum of formal learning skill development, including techniques for study management, problem solving, memorizing, categorizing, the use of reference tools such as dictionaries, and the explicit transfer of skills to other contexts. The constant recycling of language and skills, the inclusion of physical activities and frequent changes of activities were also considered beneficial. A study of nonlanguage outcomes in the AMEP (Jackson 1994) found a strong interrelationship between the acquisition of learning skills and language-specific gains.

### *Aged Language Learners*

English classes offer elderly migrants the opportunity to decrease their isolation and facilitate their access to services and community activities. Studies of aged second-language learners have established that the right physical and learning environment can compensate for physiological and sociocultural variables such as perceptual acuity, psychomotor coordination, and language-memory that are likely to affect their performance and progress (Er 1986, Aggarwal 1985, Green and Piperis 1987). Recommendations include highly contextualized language relevant to the learners' experience, concrete tasks, multisensorial modalities, recycling of content at increasingly deeper levels, and optimal physical conditions. Learner anxiety can be reduced by creating supportive relationships within the class, slowing the pace of instruction, putting the emphasis on receptive rather than productive skills, and downplaying the role and formality of assessments.

### *Learners with Experiences of Trauma*

A substantial number of refugees arriving in Australia are survivors of torture and other forms of traumatic experiences. The long term effects of these damaging experiences oftentimes impact in varying ways on the learning of English, with key factors relating to the survivors' confidence and self-esteem as learners, their motivation to learn, and their attitudes towards the target language. Difficult settlement, which may include financial problems, unemployment, children's adjustment to schooling, and experiences of racism and discrimination, inevitably affects learning of the host language. Chronic psychological symptoms, such as memory impairment, short attention span, severe anxiety, and limited concentration, can override positive motivation and impede learning.

Teachers in the AMEP have worked with specialized agencies like the Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture to learn how to provide supportive learning conditions and programs which take account of the complex and diverse needs of these learners.

## Program Arrangements

A variety of program arrangements have been introduced in response to the growing awareness of the needs of vulnerable learners. Key principles in designing appropriate options and *differentiation, flexibility,* and *continuity* (Plimer and Candin 1996). Flexibility of delivery for the target group refers to client choice in terms of location, access, intensity, mode, curriculum, and methodology. Differentiation and continuity require that provision remains contextualized within the mainstream framework and does not, in the process of accommodating special needs, set up new barriers to mainstream access.

### *Special Preparatory (PREP) Programs*

The call for small classes of around 10 students in a quiet and pleasant environment close to learners and their community has led to a resurgence of community based classes reminiscent of the earlier decades. These new classes, however, have a sharper focus and are better informed about the needs of the target clientele. *Special Preparatory (PREP)* Programs have been established for clients identified as "at risk," particularly refugees from the former Yugoslavia, Africa, Central America, Cambodia, Irag, Afghanistan, and Vietnam. Ethno-specific classes have been organized in transit flats, Maternal and Child Health Centers, Migrant resource Centers, Community Health Centers, and local schools and libraries for Somali, Iraqi, Afghani, Khmer, Arabic, and Turkish women.

Most of these classes comprise small groups, provide bilingual assistance and on-site child care, and are conducted on weekends or at times to suit the women and their family commitments. These classes integrate settlement, parenting, and health information with language and literacy skills. They involve partners in the community, including key members of the learners' own communities, as well as other service providers, advocates, and volunteers. *English on Air,* which provides bilingual talk back lessons on ethnic radio has captured a large enthusiastic listenership among elderly Cantonese and is well into its third series.

Teaching methods are designed to build confidence and promote success in the classroom, thereby reducing learner anxiety. Careful attention is given to lighting, temperature, acoustics, and seating to create a comfortable, safe, and supportive physical environment. Special professional development programs have been developed in conjunction with agencies such as the Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, to train teachers in mainstream classes to recognize distress symptoms and access professional assistance when needed. Teachers are also trained to evaluate suitability of topics, resources, and activities and to implement appropriate classroom strategies (e.g., working with aggression, distress, and inattention).

The curriculum framework used in PREP classes is the same nationally accredited competency-based curriculum used across the AMEP; this ensures that learners have continuity of content and are eventually able to articulate into mainstream programs. The methodology is considerably more contextualized, concrete, multisensorial and "hands on." Careful consideration is given to appropriate and transparent visual aids, diagrams, and experiential learning. This approach was first developed in the 1980s in programs for young refugees and unaccompanied minors who were identified as being "at risk" because they were unable to access mainstream schools in Australia (Chou Allender and Davison 1988).

## Policy Initiatives

Current immigration policy distinguishes the Refugee and Humanitarian Program from the rest of the Migration Program. Special provisions allow refugees extra time within which to take up their entitlement to free tuition in recognition of the special psychological and other barriers they might face during their initial year of settlement. They are also given greater flexibility in attendance to allow them to withdraw when they feel the need for a break without losing their entitlement.

### *Additional Funding*

On top of the entitlement to 510 tuition hours, refugees can now have up to 100 additional hours. This extension is provided in recognition of the special needs of the increasing numbers of survivors of torture and trauma and refugees with little or no formal schooling. Guidelines for the application of these additional hours are being negotiated with language and service providers to ensure that the policy provides the flexibility to meet the diversity of clients' needs.

Funding for Special Preparatory (PREP) Programs for Refugee and Humanitarian Entrants was introduced to cater in particular for the needs of women with low levels of literacy, few years of education, and low levels or no formal occupation. This client group was found by a review of *Language Services for Non-English Speaking Background Women* (Plimer et al. 1996) to be least advantaged by the AMEP. The PREP programs emphasize community-based delivery in partnership arrangements while maintaining a requirement for appropriate curriculum pathways and quality assurance processes. The courses aim to prepare students for entry into mainstream language courses in the AMEP.

### *Benchmarks*

Benchmarks on language gain developed by the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs for the AMEP likewise reflect a recognition that language gain is heavily influenced by factors such as previous level of education and literacy in other languages.

Based on the analysis of the competency achievements of clients in 1996, the Department has developed preliminary client performance targets. These targets are significant in two ways. First, they recognize that measuring success simply in terms of the attainment of a Certificate did not sufficiently recognize learner progress and achievement; they thus measure achievement more finely in terms of actual competencies gained. Second, the benchmarks are differentiated according to the three learner Bands, thus recognizing that factors such as previous experience of formal education, first language literacy, and age impact on the pace of learning.

Considerably more work is being done to validate this approach to measuring program outcomes. It is nevertheless important to ensure that the diversity of client need is supported not just in terms of differentiating service delivery, but also in how we define and measure the benefits they produce for the clients. "*Just as one single measure cannot address all purposes for assessment, neither can one measure address all aspects of learner growth and ability*" (Burt and Keenan 1996, 10).

## Issues

### *Measuring Effectiveness*

Most of the Band A learners, particularly because they enter at Stage 1 with minimal English if any, will not achieve the target outcome of either Certificate III or functional proficiency when they exit the AMEP. All the research into their learning needs stress the need for time—time to get their families and lives together, time to heal and build up confidence in a future, time to bridge the massive chasm between their old and new lives, and time to learn how to learn. These tasks are all essential ingredients for successful settlement. Language courses contribute to settlement related outcomes as well as to language development.

A study of *Non-Language Outcomes in the Language Classroom* (Jackson 1994, 11) identified eight categories of outcomes including confidence, knowledge of social institutions, cultural awareness, and learning skills. Jackson found these gains to be most noticeable and significant for learners with special needs. Similarly the 1995 Review of Workplace program reported that "*increased confidence, as a result of work related English language and literacy training, was the most highly valued outcome by workplace personnel since it facilitated the implementation of workplace reform*" (Baylis 1995, 2).

Indeed, the concurrent development of these other, albeit less tangible skills and qualities would seem essential for the achievement of language gains. It is thus important to measure the effectiveness of the learning experience of Band A learners in terms broader than language gain or competencies/Certificates achieved (McNaught and McGrath 1997, 34–35).

## *Learning Pathways*

Language and literacy development requires a long-term commitment for individuals. The high cost of sustaining this long-term commitment has been alleviated in some circumstances by government services and augmented for some individuals. Labor market programs have provided a learning pathway for many registered job seekers that needed to continue learning English. These pathways will be affected, for some individuals, in the transition to new employment arrangements. It will be important to monitor how well the new arrangements are able to assist job seekers that are disadvantaged by their language and educational backgrounds to acquire the relevant literacy and vocational skills they need for employment.

Opportunities for adults requiring slower paced provision over longer periods to continue their learning may lie, rather, in the Adult and Community Education (ACE) sector. This sector conducts training that is informal, welcoming, noninstitutional, and personal—features that make it a key success point for many disadvantaged learners. Managed and owned by local communities, ACE providers form a widespread network of learning centers, neighborhood houses, and community organizations.

"While ACE has in the past been predominantly associated with leisure and recreational activities of little relevance to people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, the inclusion of pathways which include English language literacy and vocational education and training, signals the increasing relevance of the ACE sector to the ongoing settlement and vocational education and training needs of migrant Australians" (FECCA 1996, 6).

In comparative terms the ACE sector is not well resourced, and pressure to compete for mainstream vocational education and training funds is causing the sector increasingly to formalize the nature of its provision, thereby threatening its diversity. The trends towards "user pays" which shifts costs of education and training to individuals is likewise causing anxiety in the sector, which caters predominantly for women on low incomes for whom cost is a major barrier. "*Public funding of ACE remains critical if the goal of lifelong learning is to be a reality for all Australians, particularly for those where adult learning provides pathways out of disadvantage*" (FECCA 1996, 50).

## *Alternatives to Employment*

While some migrants and refugees with limited language skills, especially women, may find casual employment in low-skill areas, many are likely to join the ranks of the long-term unemployed. The increased demand for literacy and other systemic barriers to employment are causing migrants to turn away from the job market and establish their own businesses.

Australians born overseas from non-English speaking backgrounds have shown a higher propensity to work as employers or self-employed than Australian-born persons or English-speaking migrants (ABS Brisbane 1992, 54–5). Ethnic small businesses make up one half of the small businesses in many states (Collins 1997, 12–13). "*Immigrant women, including those of Asian origin, are engaged in a diverse range of business enterprises, from dressmaking, computer programming and consultancy, tourism, arts and crafts, and various professional and* *trade services. These businesses contribute significantly to the economy by generating income for the women and their families, as well as creating new jobs, training opportunities, and opening up international markets*" (Marshallsay 1996, 8).

Research has shown that ethnic small businesses tend to employ from their family or from their ethnic communities. Collins suggests that strengthening existing ethnic small businesses and supporting more job seekers from language backgrounds other than English to make the transition from unemployed to entrepreneur would have spin-off benefits in reducing the high unemployment rates of those who are unable to compete for jobs in the open market because of limited English proficiency (1997, 26–28).

## *A New Paradigm: Productive Diversity*

To make better use of the tremendous resources bought into the country by its immigration program, Australia needs a new paradigm. Instead of viewing people with limited English as dysfunctional and unable to contribute productively to the national economy, the community should recognize and value the skills that they do not possess. This approach underlies the government's *productive diversity* policy. It is also consistent with the findings of a task force report commissioned by the previous Government on Leadership and Management Skills (Karpin 1995) which underscored the economic potential of the language and cultural skills that exist within Australia's diverse community.

Over a third of migrant workers from non-English speaking backgrounds are over-qualified for their jobs and underpaid for their skill levels (Flatau et al. 1995). "*Many have solid technical, language and cultural skills appropriate to the multicultural nature of their workplaces, are comfortable with different perspectives and communication styles, and would be good trainers, team leaders, and assessors*" (Mawer and Field 1995, 49).

Australians who speak the languages of Australia's trade partners, come from these countries, understand their cultures intimately, and have continuing personal networks, have key roles to play in Australia's push into world markets. Unfortunately, the take-up rate by business has been slow to date and the potential to maximize competitive advantage offered by the country's linguistic and cultural diversity remains largely untapped (Hay 1996, 13).

## *Prognosis for the Future*

Labor market statistics clearly establish that new arrivals are particularly vulnerable during the initial settlement period. Those who speak no English at all have a 70 percent unemployment rate in their first year (ABS Brisbane 1992). However, indications are that migrants do adapt to Australia and that, over time, their employment rates fall to levels comparable with those born in Australia (ABS Brisbane 1992, Ackland et al. 1992).

The prognosis seems to be even brighter for the children of migrants and refugees. A study of second-generation Australians indicate that they have achieved educational credentials well beyond their parents' generation, as well as third or earlier generation Australians of the same age group. They also have a "striking degree of upward mobility" and manage to convert their tertiary qualifications to occupations commensurate with the qualifications (Khoo 1995, 11–12). The selection this year of the daughter of one of the Vietnamese "boat people" as Young Australian of the Year, is symbolic of this optimistic outlook.

While these trends are encouraging, the path to successful settlement in this highly literate, technologically driven society will nevertheless be long and painful for the learners described in this paper.

## Principles of Good Practice

The Australian experience indicates that it is possible to develop curriculum practices, program arrangements, and policies that can effectively address the educational needs of language learners with limited first language literacy and minimal formal education. A number of general principles can be drawn from the exemplar discussed in the paper.

It is important to define the precise nature of learning barriers. Identifying the target group of learners as "slow" is not as meaningful as it is to discover, for instance, that classroom routines which involves teachers take for granted are unfamiliar to the learners and actually cause confusion. *Action research,* which involves teachers in a cycle of observing, reflecting, and improving, is an effective way to find out how learners think and react to classroom practices. A formal structure to support action research and collegiate participation can assist teachers to identify common patterns and issues.

Pinpointing specific problems makes it possible to develop appropriate strategies to address them. It is feasible to teach learners how to understand and use formal learning tools, activities, and processes. The same approach can be used to introduce them to new learning technologies. These decoding and encoding skills are essential for survival, not only in the classroom, but also in other areas of life in literate society. They give learners control over their own learning.

Differentiation, flexibility, and continuity are key principles in establishing program arrangements. It is important to have a policy and program delivery framework that is broad and flexible enough to accommodate diversity within the mainstream (i.e., to ensure that no groups are marginalized). Differentiated forms of provision, outcomes, benchmarks, and ways of measuring benefit and achievement should match the diversity of client need, within this framework. Policies and funding guidelines, which recognize diversity, are powerful mechanisms for promoting and rewarding innovative approaches to the customized delivery of services.

## Conclusion

There are many social benefits to improving participation of all members of the community in lifelong learning. Participation in education changes people lives and improves their life chances, enabling them to develop to their full potential, achieve security for themselves and their families, and contribute productively to their communities. Australia has had a long and proud tradition of opening its doors to individuals and families who have been displaced by war and other traumatic circumstances. It is striving to honor this commitment by ensuring that the settlement program opens up to them the opportunities that come with having the skills and confidence to learn in new ways and to continue learning throughout their lives.

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# Adult Basic Education: Strategies for Supporting Learning

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## Introduction

There has been a developing interest in the United States among federal, state, and local officials in meeting the education needs of adults with low levels of literacy proficiency. This interest is prompted by factors such as increased enrollments in beginning literacy classes, the desire on the part of adult basic education (ABE) program staff to serve these learners more effectively, and the call at the national level for data on the success of ABE programs in helping adults enhance their literacy skills. Recent discussions among the State Directors of Adult Education, ABE program instructional staff, and ABE researchers also have pointed to the need for research on strategies for instructing this subpopulation of adult learners (Alamprese 1998; Research Triangle Institute 1998).

While there is a growing concern about the educational needs of adults with low levels of literacy proficiency, few systematic studies have been undertaken concerning the quality of the educational services provided to ABE learners and the effects of these services on student learning. This lack of research on the quality of services has been due, in part, to limited fiscal support for studies on ABE programs as well as the design of studies that have been funded. For example, the national studies of adult education programs (Young et al. 1994; St. Pierre et al. 1995) have collected limited data on program implementation, such as the strategies used in managing local adult education services and the methods used in delivering instruction. Rather, these studies have documented outcomes achieved by program participants without an in-depth understanding of the services that have facilitated adults' attainment of outcomes. Other federally supported studies have consisted primarily of descriptive reviews of ABE programs, particularly those funded under discretionary programs such as workplace literacy and adult basic education for the homeless (Kutner et al. 1991; Henard et al. 1992), and guidelines for effective ABE practice developed through consensual processes involving ABE practitioners and researchers (Mayer 1984). What is lacking is empirical research that examines the relationship between adults' participation in ABE programs and their development of literacy skills. Two current studies are under way, however, they are intended to provide data concerning the effects of ABE programs on adults' learning. In a multiyear study supported by the U.S. Department of Education's Planning and Evaluation Service and Office of Vocational and Adult Education, researchers from Abt Associates are examining instructional and organizational strategies for serving adults with low levels of literacy proficiency who are participating in ABE programs. In a project that is being undertaken as part of the work of the National Center for the Study of Adult Learning and Literacy, researchers at Portland State University are conducting a longitudinal study of adult learners. These two efforts hold promise for providing valuable data that can inform the work of ABE policymakers and practitioners.

As a initial step in understanding the current state of adult basic education for learners with low levels of literacy proficiency, this paper describes the operation of the system that serves ABE learners, some emerging organizational and instructional practices in ABE programs, and key research issues that need to be addressed.

## The Adult Basic Education System

Adult basic education in the United States often is described as a mosaic of services rather than a cohesive system intended to support adults' learning in and out of the classroom. Three types of educational services are provided under the federally supported adult education program: adult basic education for learners with skills below the eighth-grade level; adult secondary education for adults earning a high school diploma or the General Educational Development (GED) certificate, and English-as-a-second-language services for nonnative born adults desiring to develop English language skills. These services may be delivered in a variety of contexts and often include workplace literacy and family literacy. According to statistics compiled by the U.S. Department of Education (1998) for local programs funded under the Adult Education Act's State-Administered Grants Program, during FY 1996 over 4 million adults participated in the three types of services. Of the participants in adult basic education, approximately 55 percent (853,160) were enrolled in beginning ABE.

During FY 1996, there were approximately 4,000 grant recipients providing adult education services, with over half of these recipients (59 percent) being local educational agencies, while 15 percent were postsecondary institutions (primarily community colleges), and 14 percent were community-based organizations. Another 4 percent of programs were offered by correctional institutions and 8 percent were delivered by a variety of providers, including libraries, literacy councils, private industry councils, and sheltered workshops.

Funding for adult education and literacy comes primarily from federal and state government sources. According to the most recent comprehensive study of federal funding for adult education (Alamprese & Sivilli 1992), there were 84 programs in FY 1989, within 11 federal agencies, which authorized or supported some type of adult education activities. Of these, 27 programs had adult education as a priority in the authorizing legislation. While there are a number of programs authorizing adult education activities, the major discretionary federal funding for adult education and literacy currently comes from two federal sources—the State-Administered Basic Grants Program under the Adult Education Act (which has been reauthorized as part of the Workforce Investment Act of 1998) and the Even Start Family Literacy Program, of which approximately 15 percent of the funding is spent on adult education and literacy. In addition to these two sources of funds, approximately 4 percent of students receiving Pell Grants are enrolled in developmental education courses as part of a certificate or degree program. Estimates for FY 1998 are that about $345 million from the State Grants Program and $18.6 million from Even Start will be spent on direct ABE and literacy services, and that the $345 million will leverage about $958 million in state and local funding.

Services provided under the Adult Education Act are targeted to adults age 16 and older who are not enrolled, or who are not required to be enrolled in secondary school; lack sufficient mastery of basic skills to function in society; lack a high school diploma; or lack basic English skills. The

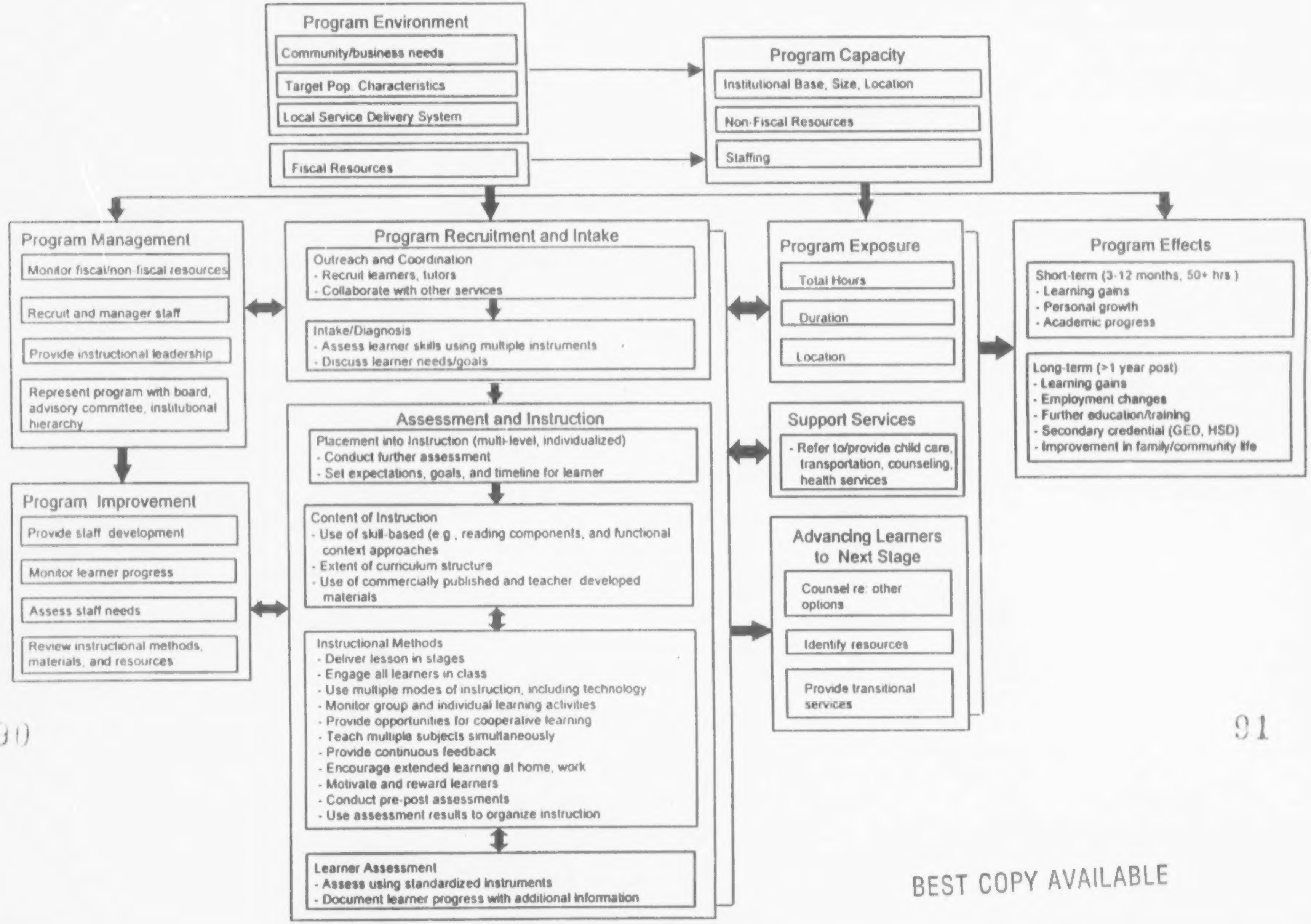
Even Start program serves children and adults from low-income families and is designed to improve their educational opportunities by providing early childhood education, adult education, and parenting education. According to the 1990 census, there are approximately 44 million adults who meet the target population characteristics of age 16 years and older who have not attained a high school diploma or equivalent, and are not currently enrolled in school. In terms of adults with low levels of literacy proficiency, various approaches have been used to determine the population of adults who may be categorized as such, including placement in the first level of an instructional program and attainment of a score on tests of general literacy skills. Reder (1998) has addressed the definition of this population in a related paper for this conference.

## Adult Education Service Delivery Components

An important aspect of the adult education service delivery system is the structure and operations of the programs providing instruction. While the research on program implementation in adult basic education is sparse, there does appear to be agreement at a general level about the types of activities that a comprehensive adult education program should offer. In Abt Associates, Inc.'s current study of ABE programs for learners with low levels of literacy proficiency, a preliminary framework for portraying the relationship among the functions that are carried out in an ABE program was developed based on data collected from 20 ABE programs and related studies. This framework, which is presented in figure 1, is a heuristic model for understanding the variety of activities that a program undertakes and the types of program effects that should result from these activities (Alamprese, Voight, & Stickney, forthcoming).

Abt's framework of an ABE program indicates that there are key functions that appear to be important in supporting the delivery of services to learners. The environment in which a program operates, such as the characteristics of learners accessing the adult education system and the structure of the service delivery system, are factors that affect a program's capacity to offer quality services to learners. For example, programs with limited resources that serve a learner population with varied skill levels will need to be particularly flexible and creative in developing services that can meet the individual needs of learners while using a group instructional model. The leadership and resourcefulness of a program's manager or administrator also is critical. Particularly in complex organizations, such as community colleges and large school districts, an ABE program's administrator must manage both the content of the program while maintaining responsibility for the fiscal and operational functioning of a program. As shown in figure 1, the integration of assessment and instruction is an important aspect of the delivery of service. Rather than viewing assessment as an isolated process designed to provide data primarily for accountability purposes, adult basic education staffs increasingly are using information from multiple assessments to guide their development of an instructional plan for learners and to monitor learners' skill development. It is expected that as further research is conducted, aspects of the program framework will be revised or new functions added.

Figure 1.—Framework of ABE program operations


Program Environment
Community/business needs
Target Pop. Characteristics
Local Service Delivery System
Fiscal Resources
Program Capacity
Institutional Base, Size, Location
Non-Fiscal Resources
Staffing
Program Management
Monitor fiscal/non-fiscal resources
Recruit and manager staff
Provide instructional leadership
Represent program with board, advisory committee, institutional hierarchy
Program Improvement
Provide staff development
Monitor learner progress
Assess staff needs
Review instructional methods, materials, and resources
Program Recruitment and Intake
Outreach and Coordination
- Recruit learners, tutors
- Collaborate with other services
Intake/Diagnosis
- Assess learner skills using multiple instruments
- Discuss learner needs/goals
Assessment and Instruction
Placement into Instruction (multi-level, individualized)
- Conduct further assessment
- Set expectations, goals, and timeline for learner
Content of Instruction
- Use of skill-based (e.g., reading components, and functional context approaches
- Extent of curriculum structure
- Use of commercially published and teacher developed materials
Instructional Methods
- Deliver lesson in stages
- Engage all learners in class
- Use multiple modes of instruction, including technology
- Monitor group and individual learning activities
- Provide opportunities for cooperative learning
- Teach multiple subjects simultaneously
- Provide continuous feedback
- Encourage extended learning at home, work
- Motivate and reward learners
- Conduct pre-post assessments
- Use assessment results to organize instruction
Learner Assessment
- Assess using standardized instruments
- Document learner progress with additional information
Program Exposure
Total Hours
Duration
Location
Support Services
- Refer to/provide child care, transportation, counseling, health services
Advancing Learners to Next Stage
Counsel re: other options
Identify resources
Provide transitional services
Program Effects
Short-term (3-12 months, 50+ hrs.)
- Learning gains
- Personal growth
- Academic progress
Long-term (>1 year post)
- Learning gains
- Employment changes
- Further education/training
- Secondary credential (GED, HSD)
- Improvement in family/community life

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# Emerging Practices

As a systematic study of ABE program implementation and outcomes, Abt's research presents an opportunity to examine in depth the types of activities that ABE programs are carrying out and the effects of these activities on learners' progress as one lens for understanding how adults learn. The results of the first phase of Abt's study, in which nine ABE programs were selected for study based on learner outcome data or the presence of trained instructional staff, indicate that there are aspects of program structure and operations, including instruction, which administrators and staff in these programs believe are critical to providing quality services to adult learners (Alamprese, Labaree, & Voight 1998).

## Program Management and Leadership Development

The importance of program management has been an emerging theme in statewide program improvement initiatives in ABE since the early 1980s. While effective instruction is a critical element in learner success, the system that supports this instruction also plays a pivotal role. The function of program management has been viewed in a number of ways. One perspective is that the administrator is responsible for the overall operation of the program and does not play a role in instructional leadership. In this case, leadership activities may be carried out by a key staff member, such as the program coordinator, or may be absent. Another view is that the administrator may facilitate programmatic change by working with these staff. In either case, it appears that successful programs have an element of leadership that may be present in different forms.

The responsibilities of an administrator in an adult education program may vary substantially by the size of the program. In programs serving large numbers of learners or in programs located in complex institutions, such as community colleges, an administrator may have responsibility for a number of services that include basic skills education and often must report through multiple levels of administration in an institution. In smaller programs, an administrator may have responsibility for a more limited range of services and may report to a board of directors or to a senior administrator in a school district. In either case, the administrator is responsible for the fiscal and programmatic soundness of the program and for obtaining and managing the resources that are critical in supporting a program.

The administrators in the case study sites examined in Abt's study used a variety of strategies to support the staff and provide the needed services for learners. At one community college site, the administrator appointed instructional leaders to be responsible for the content of the programs and to meet with the teaching staff to discuss the methods and materials used in the variety of basic education services being delivered. This structure enabled the instructional leaders to work together in forming a cohesive instructional program, with the teaching staff implementing the program and the administrator determining the types of support they needed to carry out their responsibilities.

The convening of staff in regular meetings is another approach for fostering communication and discussion about learners and the services provided to them. A number of programs in Abt's study had staff meetings during which instructors had the opportunity to discuss issues concerning learner recruitment and retention as well as teaching content. While a primary objective of these meetings was to convey administrative information, they also were the occasion for substantive discussions about the program.

## Staff Development

The programs in Abt's study used a variety of strategies to assist staff in developing new skills and reinforcing these skills through ongoing activities. While staff participated in state and locally sponsored training events, these events were viewed as a first step in skill enhancement. Programs increasingly are viewing staff development as a continuous improvement process that involves a variety of activities that support staff in their professional enhancement. A number of the programs in Abt's study have instructors who have been trained in the use of a specific instructional approach for teaching adults with low levels of literacy proficiency, and these instructors were able to participate in formal training and then work together as a team after the training event. As the concepts of action research and practitioner inquiry have become part of adult education staff development, there have been increasing efforts to structure opportunities for instructors to engage in self-reflection and data collection activities that enable them to view their practice through different perspectives and make change based on these alternatives.

## Instructional Strategies

A key focus of Abt's study is the instruction that is delivered to learners with low levels of literacy proficiency. In developing a framework for examining the quality of instruction, Abt's researchers have considered the overall approach that instructors use in organizing a lesson and the content of what is being taught in a lesson. While these aspects of instruction are commonly studied in elementary and secondary education, little attention has been given to these topics in adult basic education. For example, Abt's study has found that instructors are conceptualizing a lesson as a series of stages in which they introduce the objective of the lesson, review the background on the topic or skill that has been previously addressed, present new information about a topic, provide opportunities for learners to practice the skills that they are learning, and then offer feedback to learners about their practice. Viewed this way, a lesson is a coherent series of activities that reinforces prior knowledge and introduces new information that learners can use in building their skills.

In terms of instructional activities, instructors are using a variety of ways to promote learning. Almost all instructors in the programs examined used multiple modes of instruction, including didactic, group response, and individual response. One instructional practice for promoting learner engagement is cooperative learning, which can be used effectively to encourage teamwork and a shared sense of responsibility among learners. Another strategy that is important is the provision of corrective feedback to learners so that they understand when their responses have not been accurate and why. Instructors used different ways of providing feedback to learners, including giving the feedback themselves or soliciting comments from other learners to clarify a response.

Emerging practices regarding the content of reading instruction for learners with low levels of literacy proficiency include the adaptation of phonics approaches used in elementary education for application with adult learners (the Lindamood-Bell Learning Process, the Wilson Reading System, and the Slingerland Approach), as well as the use of blended approaches where phonics is incorporated in context-based instruction. For example, for beginning level learners, ABE instructors are using primarily phonics to teach initial reading skills. They then move to the next level of reading classes blending phonics instruction with the teaching of other reading skills, such as the development of vocabulary and comprehension, usually in a context relevant to the learner. In the area of mathematics instruction, new approaches include the teaching of math as problem solving, communication, and as connections to the real world. At the heart of these approaches is an attempt to provide instruction that is structured and linked to the daily lives of students so that they see the applicability of what they are learning across different contexts.

## Learner Assessment

The issue of learner assessment in adult education is highly debated and at the center of national and state program accountability initiatives. While a common theme among ABE practitioners is that existing tests of general literacy skills do not adequately measure the content of ABE programs, there is a growing recognition that assessment is necessary and can provide valuable information for guiding the instruction of learners. One initial finding from Abt's study of learners with low levels of literacy proficiency is that programs are using multiple forms of assessments at different points in the program. Upon enrollment, learners are assessed using diagnostic reading instruments that provide information for determining a learner's strengths and areas for study, as well as the instructional approach that will be taken. Learners' progress then is monitored using instruments designed for pre-post administration. In these programs, staffs are learning how to interpret the results from these assessments and to use them appropriately—a practice that often is absent in ABE programs. The use of specific reading tests has been found to be particularly helpful with learners with low levels of literacy proficiency, since tests of general literacy skills often do not reveal the skills that learners need to develop.

## Supports to Learning

Instruction for learners with low levels of literacy proficiency usually is provided in small classes of less than 10 students or through an individualized approach. ABE programs are recognizing that these learners make progress when the instruction is tailored to their needs, and are utilizing approaches to address the varied learning styles of students. In class-based programs, one strategy is to have tutors assist in the classes to enable learners to benefit from the group instructional process while receiving individualized attention. Tutors also are used to extend learning, where students meet with learners outside of class to receive additional instruction.

The process of supporting learning also can be viewed from an administrative perspective. ABE program directors are limiting the enrollment of classes for learners with low levels of literacy proficiency in an attempt to provide quality instruction that is customized to these learners' needs. For example, as teachers incorporate the use of phonics in reading instruction, they have found that learners need individualized attention but benefit from group instruction.

A third aspect of promoting learning is the length of the class. ABE administrators and instructors view length and intensity of instruction as critical variables for learner success, and some programs have been able to offer classes for 2 or more hours several days a week. While this may be desirable from an educational perspective, this practice is not always feasible since adult learners often do not have the time to participate in programs for this duration.

## Areas for Research

The results from the first phase of Abt's study concerning program implementation and the findings from the descriptive studies of ABE programs that have been undertaken indicate that there are several areas of research that warrant further examination. One concerns the general question of the relationship between ABE program operations and learner progress, and the types of services that are most effective with the various subpopulations of learners participating in programs. For example, more information is needed about the extent to which adults' varied learning problems can be addressed with different instructional approaches.

Another issue concerns the organization of instruction. While the variables of length, duration, and content of instruction are thought to be important to learning outcomes, more systematic examination of these factors is needed. Both program operators and founders have an interest in determining the conditions under which adults can best be served in basic education programs. A related topic is the role of learning outside of the classroom, and the methods and materials that can be used by adult students with ease to extend and reinforce their in-class learning. Finally, a better understanding is needed concerning methods for continuous staff development, the conditions under which instructors can incorporate new practices, and the relation of teaching strategy to learner outcomes.

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# Literacy Proficiency and Lifelong Learning

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## Introduction

This chapter focuses on some of the important lifelong learning contexts and processes among adults in OECD countries. The focus will be on lifelong learning in one core subpopulation: native-born adults, age 16–55, who are native speakers of a national language of their country. This group will be referred to as the "core population" in this chapter. By excluding the elderly, the immigrant, and the nonnative speaking adults from this core population, we are *not* assuming that issues of lifelong learning and basic skills necessarily differ among these more specialized groups; we are merely focusing on one of the core groups in need of lifelong learning support. Other chapters in the volume consider issues specifically faced by the immigrant, nonnative speaking, and elderly adult populations.

Much of this chapter focuses on even a narrower subpopulation; namely, those meeting the above criteria *and* having relatively low levels of literacy proficiency as well. We will designate this special subgroup of our core population as the *low-proficiency population*. We are particularly interested in issues involved in lifelong learning for adults with low levels of literacy, since there is considerable reason to suppose that adults with relatively poor basic skills face particular problems as lifelong learners.

Figure 1 illustrates an important reason to pay particular attention to lifelong learning in adults at the lowest levels of literacy proficiency. These data are from the recent International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS), in which nationally representative samples of the adult populations from selected countries were interviewed and had their prose, document, and quantitative literacy abilities assessed; participating countries were members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The bars show the percentage of adults in each participating OECD country that reported having taken some training or education during the year preceding the survey. These data are a measure of the breadth of lifelong learning in each society. Data shown in the figure are for our core population only, and are broken down according to assessed level of document literacy. The lighter shaded bar for each country displays the lifelong learning measure for low-proficiency adults (i.e., those at the lowest level of document literacy), whereas the darker bar shows the corresponding rate for adults at higher literacy levels. Although the figure shows that overall rates of lifelong learning vary markedly across countries, the same pattern can be seen within each country: low-proficiency adults generally participate at about half the rate as the rest of a country's adult population.

Rubenson (1997) has argued that national adult education strategies based on United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) "Lifelong Learning for All" policy must be reconsidered carefully in terms of which adults are ready to learn and which adults benefit from lifelong learning within a particular society. As figure 1 indicates, not all of a country's adults appear equally prepared and/or motivated to engage in continued learning. In previous work with data from the United States, I found that a broad range of social and economic outcomes in the United States depend on individuals acquiring relatively high levels of both formal education *and* literacy (Reder 1995, 1998). As we shall see, the IALS results indicate that this general pattern occurs in many OECD societies: Both formal education and literacy proficiency are closely associated with individuals' life chances. Furthermore, youth who leave school with low levels of literacy are far less likely to participate in continuing education and training across their adult lifespans (OECD 1997).

## Data Sources

The analyses presented in this chapter are based on three data sources. The primary data source is the IALS data from the first two rounds of country surveys (OECD 1997). Secondary analyses were conducted on the public-use dataset, consisting of a sample of 38,358 adults age 16 and above from the 12 participating OECD countries. Further technical description of the IALS design, instrumentation, assessment, and sampling techniques are available elsewhere (Murray, Kirsch & Jenkins 1998; OECD 1997, 1995). The core population of this chapter—native-born adults, age 16–55, who are native speakers of the language of the interview—comprised a subsample of 23,660 observations, representing 216 million adults or 66 percent of the IALS population. Many of the analyses further restrict this IALS subpopulation to the lowest level of assessed literacy proficiency, operationally defined here as those who score at Level 1 (below 225) on the Document Literacy scale (see Murray et al 1998, for further details). Individuals meeting the above criteria and in this subgroup are termed *low-proficiency adults* in this chapter. There are 33.7 million low-proficiency adults in the IALS sample, 15.6 percent of the core population for this chapter and 10.3 percent of the total IALS population.

The second data source is the National Adult Literacy Survey (NALS) conducted in the United States using instrumentation and procedures parallel to the IALS. Secondary analyses were carried out on the public-use data from the household component of this survey, involving a sample of 24,944 adults age 16 and above. The core population within NALS has a sample size of 17,346, representing 125 million adults or 66 percent of the NALS population. The low-proficiency adult component (as defined above) of the core population comprises 13.1 million adults, representing 10.5 percent of the core population for this chapter and 10.5 percent of the total NALS population. Kirsch, Jungeblut, Jenkins, and Kolstad (1993) provide further technical description of the NALS.

The third data source is employee records for manufacturing and assembly workers at Hardy Industries between 1992 and 1997. Hardy Industries (a pseudonym) is a privately held company that makes precision metal parts for the United States and international automotive industries. The Hardy data are of interest here because they provide detailed information about employees learning a wide range of specific work-related skills. The data analyzed for this chapter are based on analysis of 5 years of detailed records for 130 manufacturing and assembly workers who were employed by Hardy throughout the 5-year period and who satisfy the criteria for our core population. Further details about the company, described ethnographically by Hart-Landsberg and Reder (1995), will be provided when data about worker learning are considered later in the chapter.

## Organization of Chapter

The remainder of the chapter is organized into five sections. The next section sketches the socioeconomic contexts among OECD countries for lifelong learning in low-proficiency adults. The subsequent section delineates two major relationships underlying associations between literacy skills and education, processes termed "literacy development" and "literacy selection." Although both literacy development and literacy selection processes are found in all OECD countries, their relative potency may well differ from country to country. An ensuing section looks at some characteristics of low-proficiency learners in the various OECD countries participating in the IALS. Three major contexts for basic skill development and lifelong learning are considered in the subsequent section: literacy training programs; workplaces; and interpersonal relationships. The final section offers some conclusions and recommendations for additional research and program and policy development.

# Societal Context of Lifelong Learning for Low-Proficiency Adults

As a way of seeing the complex contextual relationship between literacy proficiency and education, let's examine how economic success in the United States is linked to both formal education and literacy skills. Figure 2 shows annual earnings as a joint function of educational attainment (highest credential received) and document literacy level. These are NALS data for our core population (and include only those who had some earnings during the year preceding the interview). Notice the regular rise in median annual earnings with educational attainment for each level of literacy. Without a secondary credential, increasing levels of literacy do not appear to improve earnings. To earn incomes that can reasonably support a family, relatively high levels of both education and literacy proficiency are typically required. Similar patterns in the NALS data have been observed for a variety of other social and economic outcomes, in which attainment of moderate levels of social and economic outcomes seem to require both relatively high levels of skill and education (Reder 1995).

As pervasive as this pattern appears to be in the United States, it is not necessarily characteristic of other OECD societies. Although it is beyond the scope of this chapter to consider each country's pattern in detail, a few contrasting examples will illustrate the international variation present. The same analysis of earnings shown in figure 2 with the NALS data is repeated with IALS data in figure 3 for the core population in the United States. Figures 4 and 5 display the corresponding IALS data for Sweden and Poland, respectively. Sweden and Poland are chosen as examples here because they exhibited (recall figure 1) the highest and lowest rates of lifelong learning among the IALS countries. The dependent variable plotted in these figures is the mean quintile of income (scaled 1 through 5) within each country associated with combinations of educational attainment and literacy. The income quintile was the only measure of personal income made available in the public-use IALS datasets.

As expected, the U.S. data from IALS is similar in shape to that shown above for the NALS data. (Note that the right-hand corner bar in figure 3 does not reflect a stable estimate for this unusual combination of literacy and education within the United States, because the subsample size was too small.)

Parallel data for Sweden and Poland show a different pattern of earnings across the various combinations of education and literacy status. Like the U.S. data, earnings data in Sweden and Poland exhibit clear differentiation according to educational attainment. But neither society, in contrast to the United States, shows the clear pattern of outcomes according to literacy proficiency given a constant level of education. This does *not* indicate, of course, that literacy is unimportant in these outcomes, only that its socioeconomic correlates are fairly well captured by those of educational attainment. Although, as we shall see in the next section, literacy skills partially determine the amount of education that individuals receive in both Poland and Sweden, there appears to be relatively little residual effect of literacy on economic outcomes after the effects of education are controlled. This contrasts rather sharply with the situation in the United States, in which both education and literacy jointly determine a number of social and economic outcomes. It is clear from past research that education and literacy proficiency have different relative strengths as predictors of economic outcomes in the various OECD countries (OECD 1997).

There are several reasons why literacy proficiency and educational attainment could be jointly important as precursors of socioeconomic outcomes in the United States but not in some other OECD countries. One possibility is that there are substantial international differences in the extent to which nonschool experiences are associated with literacy growth. This might be the case, for example, if the extra-school influences on literacy development (e.g., influences of the home environment) are relatively stronger in some countries (e.g., the United States) than in other countries (e.g., Sweden, Poland). On the other hand, the same pattern of results might occur if correlations between the amount of schooling and literacy proficiency are markedly different among the countries. In the IALS data, however, the partial correlations between years of schooling and document literacy turn out to be roughly equivalent among the OECD countries (holding age constant). We will see further evidence in the section below that the relation between schooling and literacy is highly similar among these countries. It is therefore more plausible to think about the international differences in terms of the differential potency of nonschool factors in literacy development.

## Literacy Development and Literacy Selection

Reder (1998) distinguished between two kinds of literacy processes underlying the strong positive correlation observed between educational attainment and literacy proficiency. On one hand, the more schooling individuals participate in, the more their literacy develops and the higher their proficiencies become. Reder terms this a "literacy development" process. On the other hand, literacy proficiency is often a gatekeeper that limits individuals' access to educational opportunities; increasingly higher levels of education become increasingly selective in terms of their literacy requirements. This selective filtering of literacy proficiencies through the educational system is termed a "literacy selection" process by Reder, who notes that literacy often acts as a gatekeeper for access to both postsecondary education and various components of career ladders.

Figure 6 illustrates the effects of literacy development processes in the IALS data. Each line in the figure presents data from the core population of a given IALS country, plotting average document literacy proficiency against level of educational attainment. With few exceptions (occurring mainly at extreme points at which relatively little data is available for stable estimates), there is a close linear relationship between amount of schooling and literacy proficiency; the greater (lesser) the amount of schooling completed, the greater (lesser) the average literacy proficiency.

A critical feature of the data in figure 6 is that the curves for the countries are essentially parallel lines having about the same slope. This suggests that the differences among the countries' literacy proficiency levels do not appear to result from different underlying patterns of literacy development in schools. The roughly parallel lines in the figure indicate that marginal increases in amount of schooling are associated with roughly equivalent gains in average literacy proficiency. Although the lines have roughly equal slopes, their intercepts are vastly different, resulting in relatively constant differences in literacy proficiency among the countries at any given level of educational attainment.

These results suggest that there are strong societal factors differentiating literacy levels among these countries, factors that are unrelated to the amount of schooling individuals receive. These factors combine additively with the effects of schooling on literacy, and are evidenced in the figure by the substantial differences in the intercepts of the countries' parallel lines. The equal slopes of these lines are consistent with the equal magnitude correlations noted in the previous section.

Figure 7 replots these IALS data for the core populations in order to exhibit the relationship between schooling and literacy in a different way. Each line in the figure displays the average number of years of schooling attained by adults functioning at each level of document literacy. The more (less) literacy proficiency individuals have, the more (less) years of schooling they tend to complete. These can thus be interpreted as literacy selection curves from the various IALS countries. As in the previous figure, the essentially parallel nature of the lines has important implications for our understanding of the relationship between literacy and education in our core population. The parallel lines implicate factors unrelated to schooling that underlie the substantial international differences in adult literacy.

Although it is not possible to distinguish the relative effects of literacy development and literacy selection processes underlying the observed correlations between schooling and literacy presented in figures 6 and 7, the two processes can be statistically isolated by analytical techniques that utilize other variables as well. By applying structural equation models to the

NALS data from the United States, Reder (1998) was able to estimate the relative strengths of the literacy development and literacy selection components underlying the positive correlation observed between years of schooling and literacy proficiency. In the models considered, there were reciprocal positive effects of literacy and education on one other, with the estimated magnitude of literacy development (i.e., the direct effect of schooling on literacy) being roughly three times as strong as the magnitude of literacy selection (i.e., the direct effect of literacy proficiency on schooling).

It seems reasonable to suppose that the various OECD societies differ in the relative salience of literacy development and literacy selection processes underlying their distributions of educational attainment and literacy proficiency. One reasonable hypothesis is that in a society such as the United States, in which postsecondary education has increasingly become accessible to individuals across a broad range of the literacy proficiency distribution (i.e., relatively low levels of literacy selection), other outcomes such as income will be sharply related to both educational attainment and literacy proficiency (figure 3). In societies offering less access to postsecondary education for those with relatively poor basic skills (i.e., stronger literacy selection), economic outcomes may be dependent primarily upon educational attainment and not *directly* upon literacy proficiency as well (figures 4 and 5 for Poland and Sweden, respectively).

Although the development of more effective educational and economic policies in OECD countries would likely be well served by modeling and evaluating their component literacy development and literacy selection processes, we cannot carry out a contrastive analysis of this type at present. The structural equation models Reder used with the NALS data from the United States unfortunately cannot be applied directly to the IALS data from other OECD countries because several of the key variables from NALS were not included in the IALS. Similar models could be developed that would contrast the relative potency of literacy development and literacy selection in these various societies. In the meantime, it will behoove policymakers in all countries to think carefully about the ways in which both literacy development and literacy selection processes influence the socioeconomic distribution of literacy proficiency in their societies.

## Some Characteristics of Low-Proficient Learners

Previous sections considered some of the ways in which the socioeconomic distribution of literacy and education within a society influences the overall process of literacy development. But what do these societal-wide contexts and processes mean for the individual adult learner with poor basic skills? Let us consider some of the contextual variations among OECD countries for adults at the lowest level of document literacy. This section would, of course, be too long if it were to consider the full range and variation of distinctive characteristics of the low-proficient adults in the OECD countries. Space limitations here permit only a cursory sketch of a few illustrative characteristics. More detail is available elsewhere in this volume and in the OECD (1997, 1995).

Let us first consider the overall incidence of low-proficient adults within the core populations of the IALS countries. Figure 8 displays this international variation. Each bar represents the percentage of the core population performing at the lowest level of document literacy on the

IALS assessment. The percentage of the core population in the low-proficient group varies widely across countries, ranging from about 5 percent of Sweden's core population to over 40 percent of Poland's.

The economic context of being a low-proficient adult also varies widely among these OECD countries. Figure 9 exhibits the income status of low-proficient adults relative to their own local economic standard. Each IALS country's income distribution was first estimated from survey data sampled from all working adults. Each country's resulting income distribution was then broken down into fifths (i.e., quintiles). Individual incomes reported by IALS respondents were then recoded into the appropriate quintile of the given country's income distribution, ranked from 1 (lowest) to 5 (highest). The mean income quintiles for low-proficient adults in each OECD country are displayed in figure 9. An average quintile score of 3.0 would indicate that low-proficient adults in a country have incomes at the average level for the entire adult population. Data in the figure indicate that this is approximately the case in both Sweden and Poland, whereas in other countries the majority of the low-proficient population is concentrated in the lower income quintiles (as is particularly evident in the United States and Belgium). The fact that Sweden and Poland, shown in previous figures to have diametrically opposed overall levels of literacy and rates of lifelong learning, both have relatively high levels of income for low-proficient adults is remarkable. Assertions that economic advancement is everywhere the main driver of lifelong learning are likely going to provide too simplistic an account.

Let us consider a different type of characteristic of low-proficient adults that may also be relevant to their experiences as lifelong learners. Figure 10 displays the incidence of self-reported learning disabilities among low-proficient adults in the IALS countries. (The figure omits those few countries that elected not to include the optional IALS questions about learning disabilities). Although such self-report is certainly not an infallible indicator of clinically identifiable learning disabilities, it appears to have a fair amount of validity as a research measure in large-scale surveys (Vogel & Reder 1998). Notice that the data shown in the figure are the percentages of self-reported learning disabilities among low-proficient adults in the core population, not the overall incidence of learning disabilities in the adult population. These percentages vary widely among the participating countries, ranging from 29 percent of the low-proficient core population in New Zealand down to 3 percent in Sweden. As a likely indicator of perceived internal barriers to adult learning, these self-report data seem to reflect widely varying personal contexts and perceived obstacles to literacy growth that face low-proficient adults in the various OECD countries.

## Three Contexts for Lifelong Learning

Results in the above sections suggest that there are extra-school contexts in which individuals develop basic skills, and that international differences in these contexts—perhaps more than differences in their formal educational settings—are at the root of major differences in adult literacy among OECD countries. To illustrate these points in a different way, consider figure 11, which displays the percentage of the core population *not* completing a secondary education that nevertheless develops relatively high levels of literacy (Level 3 or higher). For example, the figure indicates that in New Zealand about 30 percent of the core population that did not complete secondary school nevertheless attain document literacy Level 3 or higher.

The international differences among the IALS countries in figure 11 are profound. In some countries such as Germany and Sweden, of the core population that does not complete secondary school, about 50 percent have document literacy abilities at Level 3 or higher; at the other extreme, the corresponding figures for the United States and Poland are below 20 percent. These results remind us again that educational policy and programs must focus on factors beyond formal education if most of the core adult populations are to reach this standard of functional literacy.

The remainder of this section explores three potential contexts for such adult literacy development and lifelong learning: basic skills training programs; interpersonal relationships (especially relationships in which literacy assistance occurs spontaneously); and workplaces.

## Basic Skills Training

Although there are significant numbers of low-proficiency adults in each of the IALS countries, the programmatic attention to improving basic skills varies widely among the countries. Only three of the participating IALS countries chose to include the optional questions about basic skills training in their surveys: Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States. There is therefore only limited comparative information available about basis skills training in the IALS countries.

Overall, only a small percentage of the core populations of these three countries report having ever participated in basic skills training (other than in school): 11 percent, 5 percent and 12 percent of the core populations of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States, respectively. When these overall participation rates are displayed as a function of assessed literacy abilities, the pattern displayed in figure 12 emerges.

There is little apparent relationship between literacy level and previous basic skills participation evident for the three countries shown in figure 12. Previous researchers have found this lack of relationship between skill level and participation. Reder (1997) reported a number of logistic regression analyses of NALS data, predicting basic skills participation in terms of literacy proficiency, educational attainment and other variables. Neither literacy proficiency level nor educational attainment was a significant predictor. Kwang, Collins and Stowe (1997), analyzing data from the National Household Education Survey, similarly found that educational attainment did not predict participation in basic skills training unless GED preparation were isolated from basic skills training.

If neither educational attainment or literacy proficiency is a major determinant of participation, then what factors might be? Adult educators have long believed that individuals participate when programs meet perceived or felt needs for improved skills. Reder (1997), analyzing the NALS data, found that individuals' self-ratings of their own literacy skills were not a significant predictor of participation, casting doubt on the utility of felt needs as a determinant of participation. In the present IALS data, this relationship can be examined for the three countries. figure 13 displays the percent of the core populations that reported ever participating in basic skills training as a function of their self-rated satisfaction with their skills. In each of the three countries, there is a substantial increment in previous participation rates when individuals report being "very dissatisfied" with their skills. The form of the self-rating question asked in IALS, one that directly tapped individuals' level of satisfaction with their basic skills, appears to be a much better predictor of participation than the self-rating question asked in NALS, one that asked directly for self-ratings of proficiency.

Figure 14 displays another potentially important factor underlying participation in basic skills training. For each of the three countries, the percentage of the core population reporting having ever participated in basic skills training is shown as a function of whether they had received training for job- or career-related purposes. Particularly in Canada and the United States, adults who engage in work-oriented learning activities are far more likely to participate in basic skills training. Unfortunately, we are not able to examine this relationship in the other IALS countries at the present time, but this is clearly a topic in need of additional research. In addition to confirming this relationship for other OECD countries, it would be very useful to know more about how basic skills and job- or career-related learning activities are related. In particular, it would be important to know whether the basic skills training was offered in conjunction with or separately from the work-related training, and whether and how low-proficiency adults were effectively included in such arrangements.

## Interpersonal Relationships: From Helping to Teaching to Learning

Previous research has suggested another important factor that may underlie participation in basic skills programs: the extent to which individuals receive assistance from others in performing everyday literacy tasks (Reder 1997; Reder & Green 1985; Wikelund, Reder & Hart-Landsberg 1992). An earlier statistical analysis of this relationship was conducted with the NALS data (Reder 1997). Adults reported how much help they received from family members and friends with five common literacy tasks: filling out forms; reading or understanding newspapers or other written information; understanding printed information from government agencies, companies and businesses; writing notes and letters; and using basic arithmetic in filling out such things as order forms, and checkbooks. For analytical purposes, individuals who indicated they received "a lot" (as opposed to "some," "a little," or "none") of help on one or more of these tasks were designated by Reder (1997) as not being *literacy-sufficient*; 17 percent of all adults were *not* literacy-sufficient, whereas 83 percent of adults were. Further analyses found that self-sufficiency in everyday literacy activities increased regularly with both educational attainment and literacy proficiency. When *literacy-sufficiency* was added to the aforementioned logistic regression analysis of participation in basic skills training, it was a statistically significant predictor within the NALS data set (Reder 1997). A very substantial fraction (38 percent) of low-proficiency adults received regular assistance from individuals whom Reder and Green (1985) termed "literacy helpers." Such naturally existing patterns of collaboration may be strategic contexts for adult literacy development.

Figure 15 displays some related data for the core populations of the IALS. The percentage of adults reporting that they "often" received help from friends or family members with everyday literacy tasks is shown for each country. There is perhaps somewhat less variation here among the IALS countries than in some of the other data we examined above; in most of the countries, between 10 and 20 percent of the core population reports often receiving help from friends and family members on everyday literacy tasks.

For the three countries that included information about basic skills participation, figure 16 exhibits the relationship between participation and receiving help with everyday literacy tasks. The positive association between participation and assistance appears to be confirmed by the data in the figure, though the relationship appears weakest in the IALS data from the United States. Larger sample sizes and data from additional IALS countries are needed to extend this line of research. Considering the positive findings from the previous research, there continues to be good reason to explore ways in which to link literacy-assistance relationships with programmatic efforts to increase adult literacy.

## Workplace Learning

We saw above in figure 14 that there may be an important relationship between work-related learning in general and participation in basic skills training. Since adults spend so much of their everyday time in workplaces, it is essential that policies and programs be developed for the workplaces that facilitate adult literacy development and lifelong learning. To demonstrate the potential of the workplace as a learning context in which concerted efforts by employers can result in widespread learning and development, this section presents some data from an innovative company in the automotive industry that we will call Hardy Industries. Hardy manufactures specialty parts like locking hubs, winches, and other specialty components for both domestic United States and international customers, including automakers and after-market retail customers. Hardy has innovated a number of significant changes in its manufacturing and assembly processes and technologies as well as a skill-based compensation system that are of particular interest to us here. Detailed ethnographic accounts of Hardy and these innovations are available elsewhere (Hart-Landsberg & Reder 1995). A detailed description of the compensation system, termed "Pay-for-Knowledge (PFK)," is available in Reder (in press).

Hardy designed its PFK compensation system in order to create direct financial incentives for employees to acquire new work-related skills and knowledge, including a range of functional literacy skills such as blueprint reading, gauge reading, shop, math, and introductory statistical process control. Hardy carefully developed a matrix of skills that it believed to be essential not only for immediate production purposes but also for increasing flexibility, adaptability, and lifelong learning among its manufacturing and assembly workers. The PFK skills were classified into one of five levels of difficulty (termed "skill blocks"), voluntary training courses were developed for many of the skills, and careful assessment criteria and instruments were developed for certifying acquisition of each skill. Workers received a flat base hourly wage plus increments based on the number and difficulty level of PFK skills they could demonstrate mastering. Skills at the highest difficulty level were worth more than those in the next lower level, and so forth. Workers able to acquire the maximum number of PFK skills could earn approximately three times the base pay.

Data shown in the following series of figures pertain to Hardy's manufacturing and assembly workers who meet the criteria for the core population studied in this chapter. Figure 17 displays over a 4-year period from 1993–97 the average number of skills acquired by these workers at each PFK "skill block" level. The same set of 130 workers is shown for each year. Steady learning of work-related skills is evident at all levels of difficulty.

Figure 18 shows the overall growth in the total number of PFK skills per worker and the associated increases in their average hourly wage. It is important to emphasize that Hardy Industries was not trying to be charitable to its workers through this very expensive compensation system; it chose to deploy a competitive strategy based on increasing its workers' skills and this strategy appears to have been extremely successful. Workers have participated actively in learning, their skills have grown, their wages have correspondingly increased dramatically, and the company has competed successfully and has expanded considerably during this period of time.

Figure 19 displays the PFK learning curves of these manufacturing and assembly workers according to whether they had high school (or equivalency) diplomas. It is very important, in evaluating the potential of such workplace interventions to promote lifelong learning for all workers, to note that the low-education workers have been well served by and responded well to these innovations designed to support learning. Statistical analyses of these data, controlling for demographic variables and job-tenure, indicate that there were no significant effects of education level on the learning of these work-related skills.

Though formal training was available for many of the PFK skills, participation in training was voluntary for most courses and many workers acquired skills through a variety of informal means (Hart-Landsberg & Reder 1995; Reder, in press). Figure 20 displays the relationship between formal training and learning of specific skills. The particular skills displayed in figure 20 were chosen for this analysis because they are clearly workplace literacy skills, and ones for which specific training courses were available on-site at Hardy: blueprint reading, gauge reading, shop math, and introductory statistical process control.

For each skill shown in figure 20, three bars are displayed about workers' development of the given skill during the first year of the PFK implementation at Hardy. The left-hand bar in each group shows the percentage of workers who chose to take the training offered for the particular skill. The middle bar displays the percentage of workers who took the given training that acquired the given PFK skill. The right-hand bar shows the percentage of workers who did *not* take the training that acquired the given PFK skill. For example, about 63 percent of the workers took the blueprint reading course; 79 percent of those who took the course acquired the blueprint reading skill, whereas only 37 percent of the workers who did not take the course acquired the skill. Statistical analyses of these data indicate that a significantly higher percentage of workers taking the training acquired the skill than of those not taking the training, with the exception of shop math, for which the two rates of skill acquisition are statistically equivalent (Reder, in press).

These results from Hardy indicate that, given both incentives to learn and training opportunities, many workers will learn and develop work-related literacy skills. Furthermore, although formal training may be relatively effective for many workers, many other workers choose to learn and do learn through more informal means. For some skills, informal and formal approaches to learning may be equally effective. Such programs can offer effective opportunities and contexts for lifelong learning even for low-education workers.

## Summary and Conclusions

Adults need both well-developed literacy abilities and educational credentials to advance socially and economically in the IALS societies. Is some countries, a policy focus on educational attainment may be sufficient, whereas in other societies, such as the United States, advancement seems to require a focus on increasing literacy proficiency even after education is taken into account. The underlying differences among countries are likely related to differences in what have been termed "literacy development" and "literacy selection processes." Further research in this area will be very helpful in understanding how to attain more equitable distributions of adult literacy.

There is considerable evidence that formal education is only one of the contexts in which adult literacy develops. The dramatic differences in adult literacy observed among the IALS countries may be more closely related to differences in these extra-school contexts and processes than to differences in their formal educational systems. Three contexts deserving further research and consideration in this regard include basic skills training, interpersonal relationships (especially those providing "literacy help"), and workplaces.

Previous adult education research in the United States suggests that participants in basic skills programs are diverse and constitute a microcosm of the wider society. A small and relatively constant proportion of adults with any given combination of levels of literacy proficiency and educational attainment participate, seeking to improve their skills (Reder 1997). This suggests that some formal literacy education programs for adults could be effectively designed as part of broader society-wide efforts to improve literacy rather than as remedial programs only for low-proficiency adults. The observed relationships between participation in basic skills programs and work-related learning, as well as between participation and getting help from friends or family members with literacy tasks, point to some promising new directions for serving broader audiences of lifelong learners. Since most spells of participation in basic skills programs are quite brief, it may be especially effective to design programs as supports for literacy development as a lifelong learning process. Certainly the results from innovative companies like Hardy Industries suggest some practical approaches and lines of experimentation that could be effective with low-education adult learners.

Providing specialized services to low-proficiency adults does not require that lifelong learning initiatives be implemented through programs that segregate or otherwise differentially treat adults with poor basic skills. Not all of the OECD countries participating in IALS have well-developed national adult literacy education programs. Indeed, among the dozen countries participating in the first two rounds of the IALS, only three (Canada, England, and the United States) chose even to include the optional questions in their surveys about basic skills training.

During the OECD/U.S. Department of Education cosponsored conference, "How Adults Learn," there was sharp disagreement and debate among countries and individuals over how best to connect literacy education programs for low-proficient adults to broader initiatives and programs seeking to facilitate lifelong learning throughout society. Certainly if the two types of programs remain separate entities as they currently are in some countries, they will likely have different relative priorities among the various OECD countries, given the vastly different concentrations of low-skilled adults among the various countries.

Even in contexts where there is good reason to advocate for services and resources targeted to the particular needs of adult learners needing better basic skills, it should not be assumed that *all* such resources and services should be delivered in contexts which segregate low-skilled adults from other adult learners. Participation research in adult literacy education indicates the need for policies and programs that infuse learning support into diverse contexts and activities in which long-term engagement in basic skills development and lifelong learning are feasible (Wikelund et al. 1992). Some promising approaches suggested in this chapter include harnessing relationships between learners and literacy helpers and innovating new types of policies and programs within workplaces. No doubt approaches grounded in other contexts and institutions within communities will emerge as well. The challenge will be to find effective and appealing ways of including active support for adult literacy development within some of these newer settings and approaches while continuing to actively support the more established types of basic skills programs.

# Figure Captions

**Figure 1**. Lifelong learning and literacy. The percentage of adults who have taken formal training or education courses during the preceding year is displayed in relation to their document literacy level. Includes adults who are age 16-55, born in the surveyed country and native speakers of the language of the interview. Source: International Adult Literacy Survey, author's calculations.

**Figure 2**. Earnings by literacy and education (USA). Median personal income for year preceding survey, plotted as a function of highest educational credential and document literacy level. Includes adults who are age 16-55, born in the United States, native speakers of English and not currently students. Source: National Adult Literacy Survey, author's calculations.

**Figure 3**. Wage Income by literacy and education (USA). Mean personal income quintile (1-5) within each country is plotted by highest educational credential and level of document literacy. Includes adults who are age 16-55, born in the surveyed country and native speakers of the language of the interview. Excludes individuals still in school and those without any personal income. Note sample size is too small to calculate a reliable estimate for lower right-hand bar. Source: International Adult Literacy Survey, author's calculations.

**Figure 4**. Wage Income by literacy and education (Sweden). Mean personal income quintile (1-5) within each country is plotted by highest educational credential and level of document literacy. Includes adults who are age 16-55, born in the surveyed country and native speakers of the language of the interview. Excludes individuals still in school and those without any personal income. Note sample sizes are too small to calculate reliable estimates for Level 1 bars. Source: International Adult Literacy Survey, author's calculations.

**Figure 5**. Wage Income by literacy and education (Poland). Mean personal income quintile (1-5) within each country is plotted by highest educational credential and level of document literacy. Includes adults who are age 16-55, born in the surveyed country and native speakers of the language of the interview. Excludes individuals still in school and those without any personal income. Source: International Adult Literacy Survey, author's calculations.

**Figure 6**. Document literacy as a function of educational attainment. Includes adults who are age 16-55, born in the surveyed country and native speakers of the language of the interview. Source: International Adult Literacy Survey, author's calculations.

**Figure 7**. Years of schooling as a function of document literacy. Includes adults who are age 16-55, born in the surveyed country and native speakers of the language of the interview. Source: International Adult Literacy Survey, author's calculations.

**Figure 8**. Percent of adults at lowest level of document literacy (Level 1). Includes adults who are age 16-55, born in the surveyed country and native speakers of the language of the interview. Source: International Adult Literacy Survey, author's calculations.

**Figure 9**. Mean personal income quintile (1-5) of low-proficiency adults. Includes adults who are age 16-55, born in the surveyed country, native speakers of the language of the interview and functioning at the lowest document literacy level. Excludes individuals still in school and those without any personal income. Source: International Adult Literacy Survey, author's calculations.

**Figure 10**. Learning disabilities among low-proficiency adults. The percentage of adults self-reporting learning disabilities is shown. Includes adults who are age 16-55, born in the surveyed country, native speakers of the language of the interview, and scoring at the lowest document literacy level. Source: International Adult Literacy Survey, author's calculations.

**Figure 11**. High literacy with little formal education. Displays the percentage of adults not completing secondary education who function at Document Literacy Level 3 or above. Includes adults who are age 16-55, born in the surveyed country and native speakers of the language of the interview. Source: International Adult Literacy Survey, author's calculations.

**Figure 12**. Basic skills training and level of literacy skills. The percentage of adults who have ever participated in basic skills training (other than school) as a function of their document literacy proficiency. Includes adults who are age 16-55, born in the surveyed country and native speakers of the language of the interview. Source: International Adult Literacy Survey, author's calculations.

**Figure 13**. Basic skills training and satisfaction with literacy skills. The percentage of adults who have ever participated in basic skills training (other than school) is displayed as a function of their satisfaction with their own reading and writing skills. Includes adults who are age 16-55, born in the surveyed country and native speakers of the language of the interview. Source: International Adult Literacy Survey, author's calculations.

**Figure 14**. Basic skills training and workplace learning. The percentage of adults who have ever participated in basic skills training (other than school) is shown as a function of receiving training for job- or career-related purposes. Includes adults who are age 16-55, born in the surveyed country and native speakers of the language of the interview. Source: International Adult Literacy Survey, author's calculations.

**Figure 15**. Literacy assistance among low proficiency adults. Displayed is the percentage of adults "often" receiving reading and writing help from family members or friends on one or more everyday literacy tasks. Includes adults who are age 16-55, born in the surveyed country, native speakers of the language of the interview, and scoring at the lowest document literacy level. Source: International Adult Literacy Survey, author's calculations.

**Figure 16**. Basic skills training and literacy assistance among low-proficiency adults. The percentage is shown of adults who have ever participated in basic skills training (other than school) as a function of "often" receiving reading and writing help from family members or friends on one or more everyday literacy tasks. Includes adults who are age 16-55, born in the surveyed country, a native speaker of the language of the interview, and scoring in the lowest document literacy level. Source: International Adult Literacy Survey, author's calculations.

**Figure 17.** Skill acquisition in a workplace. The acquisition of work-related skills is shown over a 5-year period for manufacturing and assembly workers in Hardy Industries. Data are shown for the same set of workers at each time point. The five curves correspond to skills in different "blocks" or levels of complexity, with Block 5 consisting of the most complex skills.

**Figure 18.** Learning and earning in a workplace. The parallel growth of skills and wages are shown over a 5-year period among manufacturing and assembly workers in Hardy Industries. Data are shown for the same set of workers at each time point. Each curve is plotted against a different axis: Hourly wages ("PFK") is shown in U.S. dollars on the left ordinate; the total number of PFK skills acquired is displayed on the right ordinate.

**Figure 19.** Education and learning in a workplace. Average skill-based wages in a pay-for-knowledge (PFK) compensation system are shown (in US $/hr.) over a 5-year period for manufacturing and assembly workers in Hardy Industries. Data are shown for the same set of workers at each time point. The two curves are for subsets of workers with and without high school or equivalency diplomas.

**Figure 20**. Formal and informal learning in a workplace. The chart shows the acquisition of four specific skills over a one-year period among manufacturing and assembly workers at Hardy Industries. Formal training courses were offered for each of these skills. The percentage of workers participating in associated training is displayed in the left bar for each skill. The percentage of workers taking the training who learned the skill is displayed in the middle bar for each skill. The percentage of workers who did *not* take the training who learned the skill is displayed in the right bar for each skill

Figure 1.—Lifelong learning and literacy

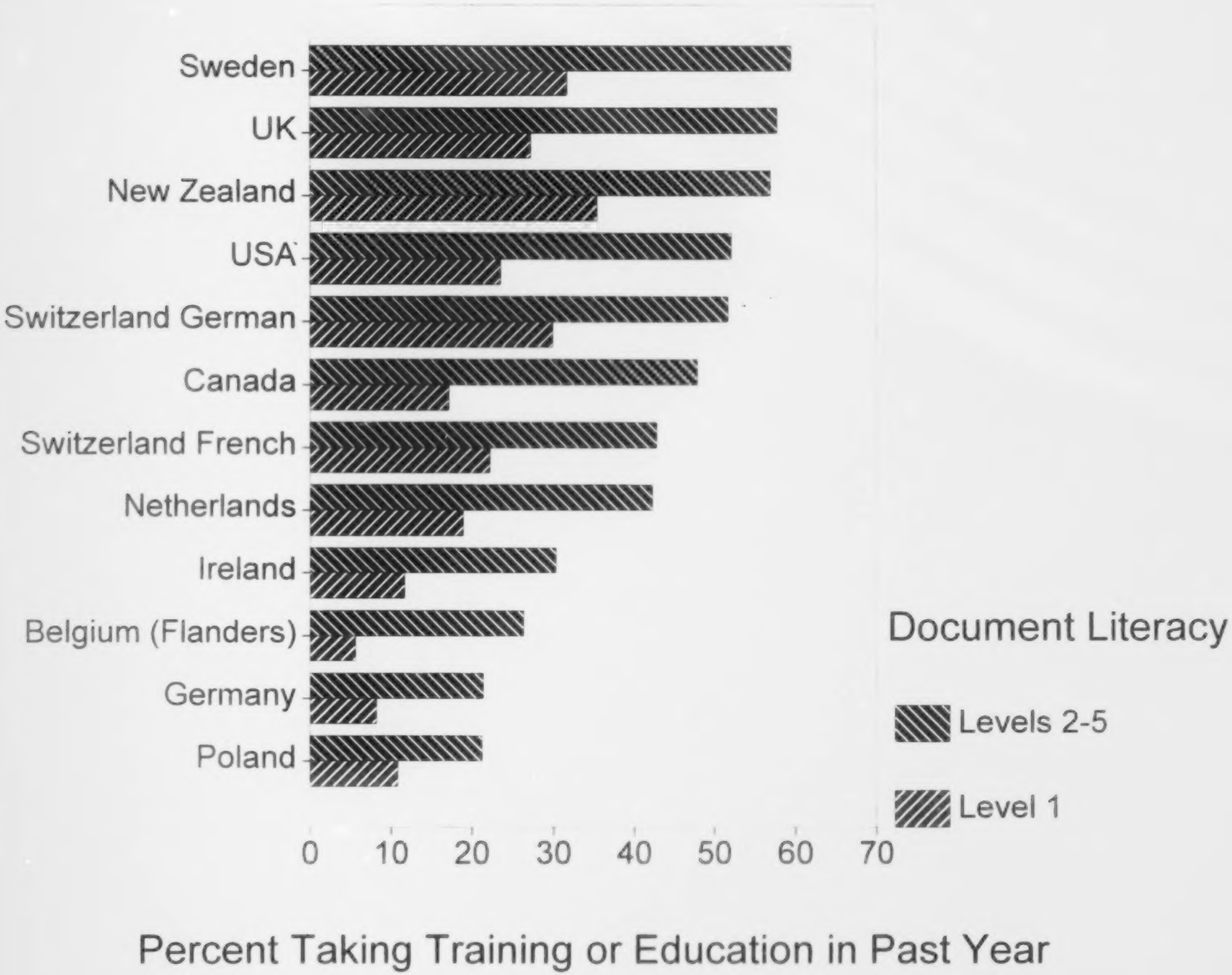


Figure 2.—Earnings, by literacy and education in the United States

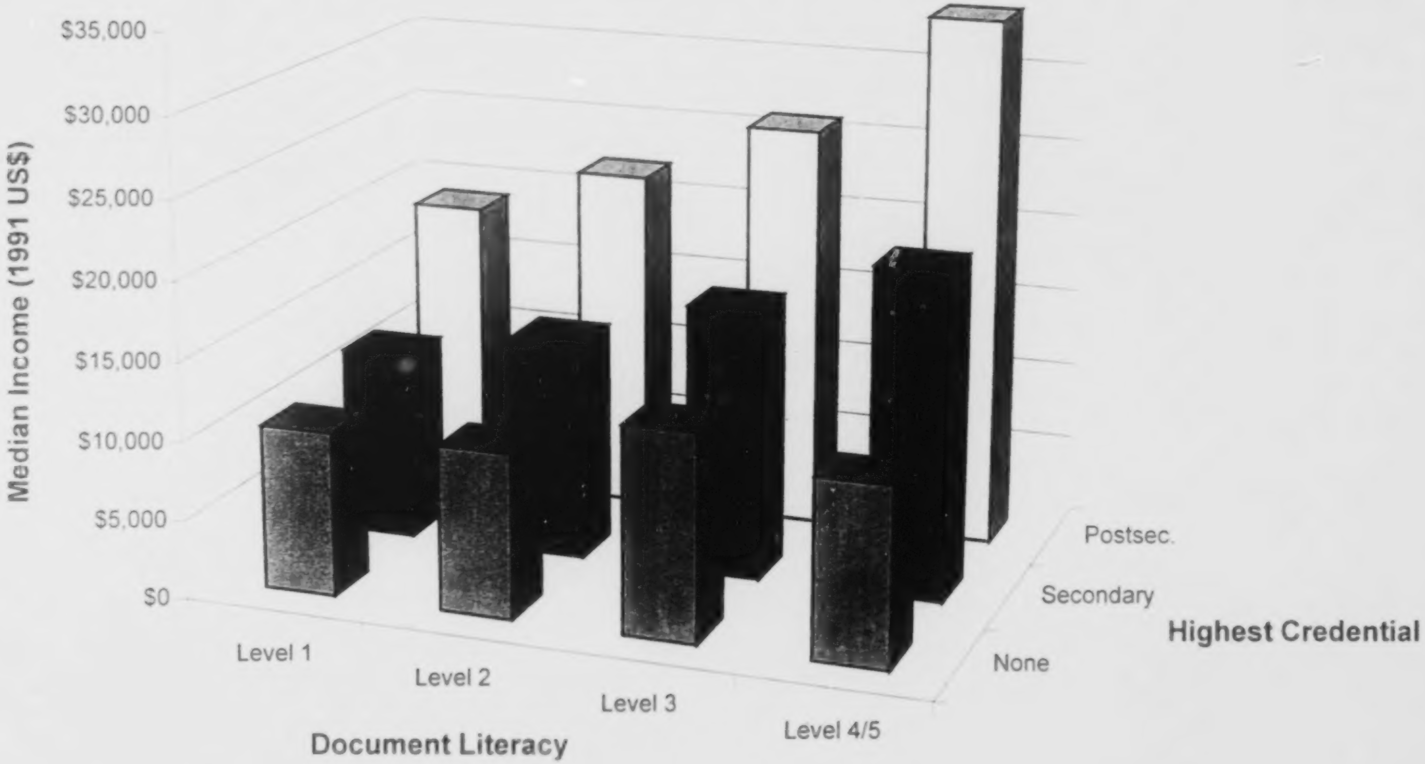


Figure 3.—Wage income, by literacy and education in the United States

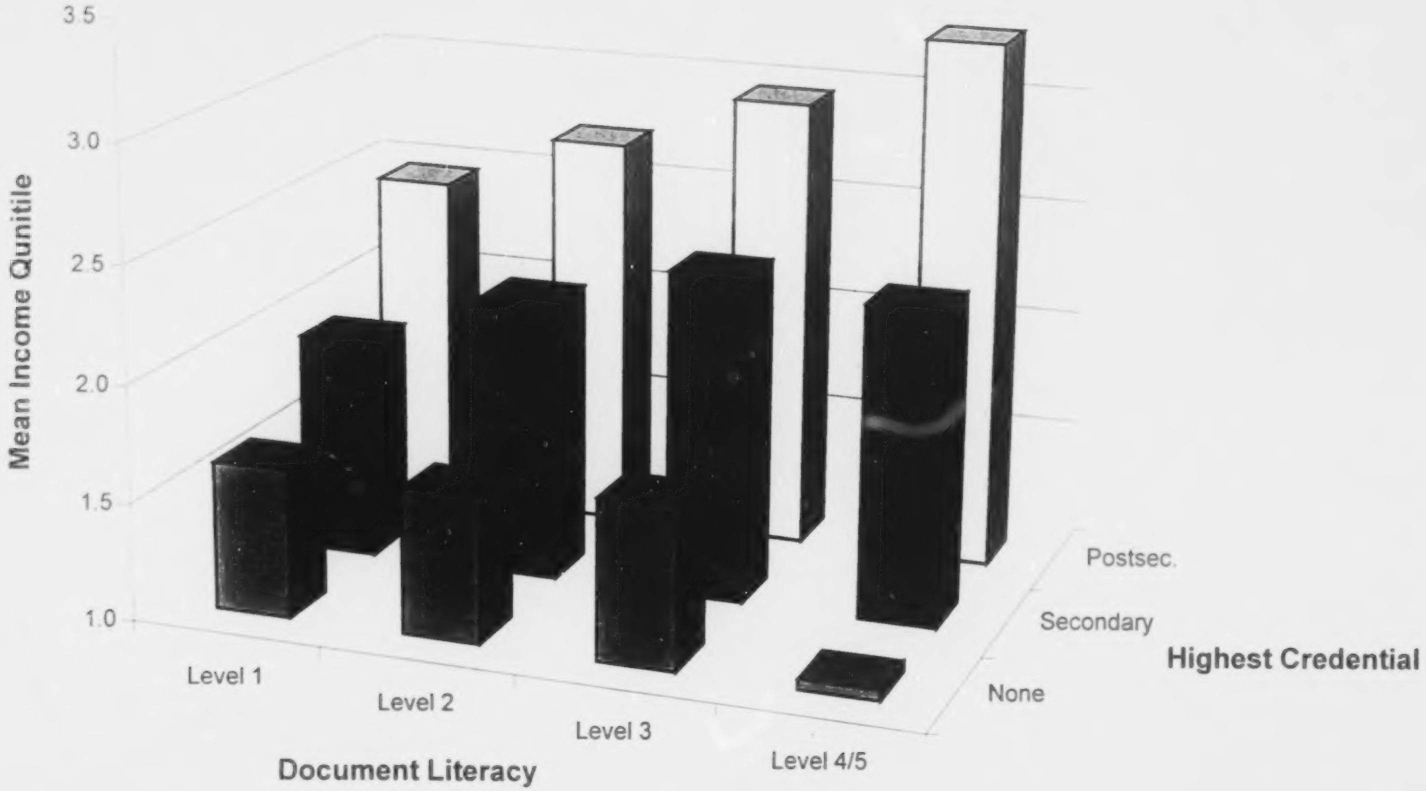


Figure 4.—Wage income, by literacy and education in Sweden

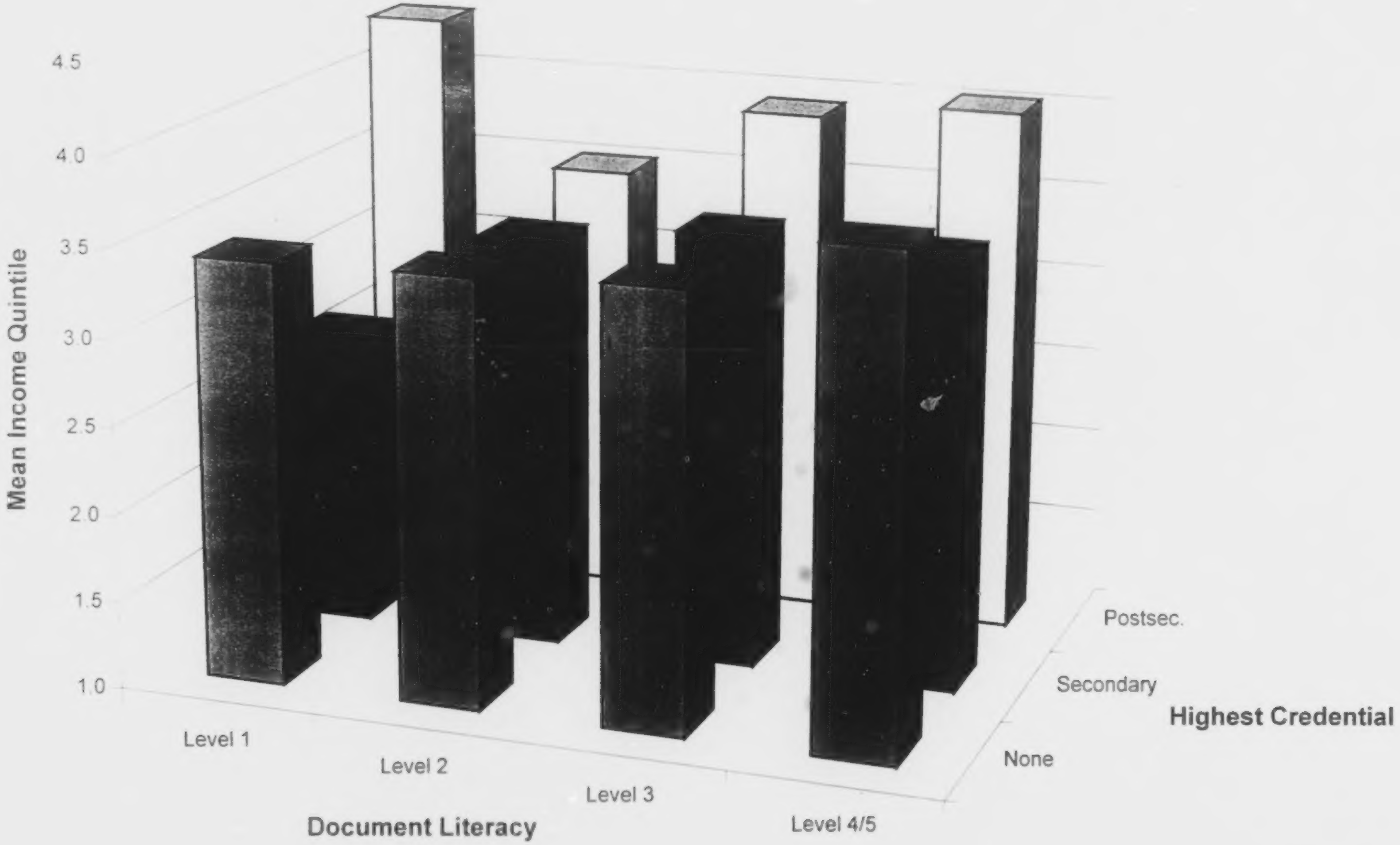


Figure 5.—Wage income, by literacy and education in Poland

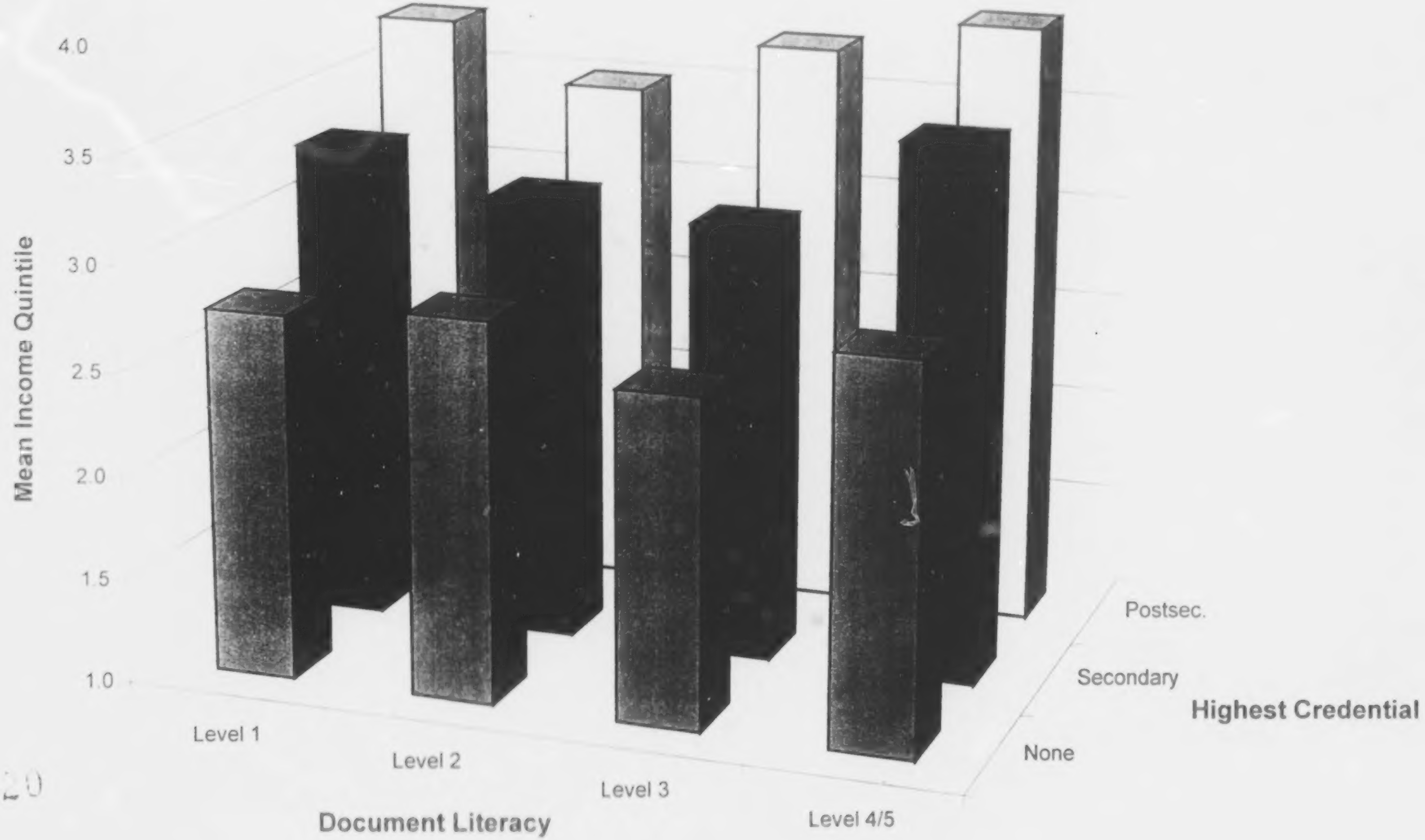


Figure 6.—Document literacy as a function of educational attainment

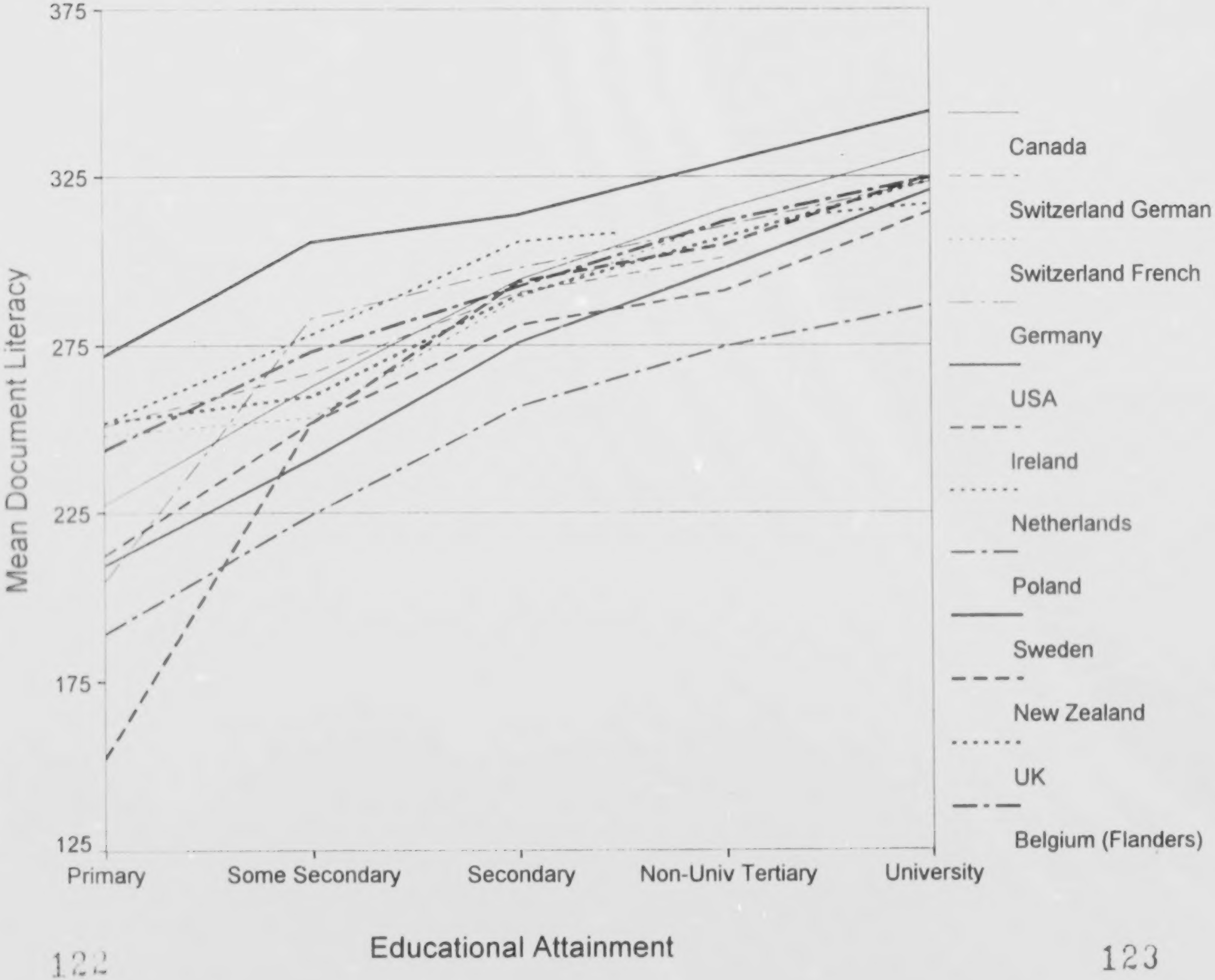


Figure 7.—Years of schooling as a function of document literacy

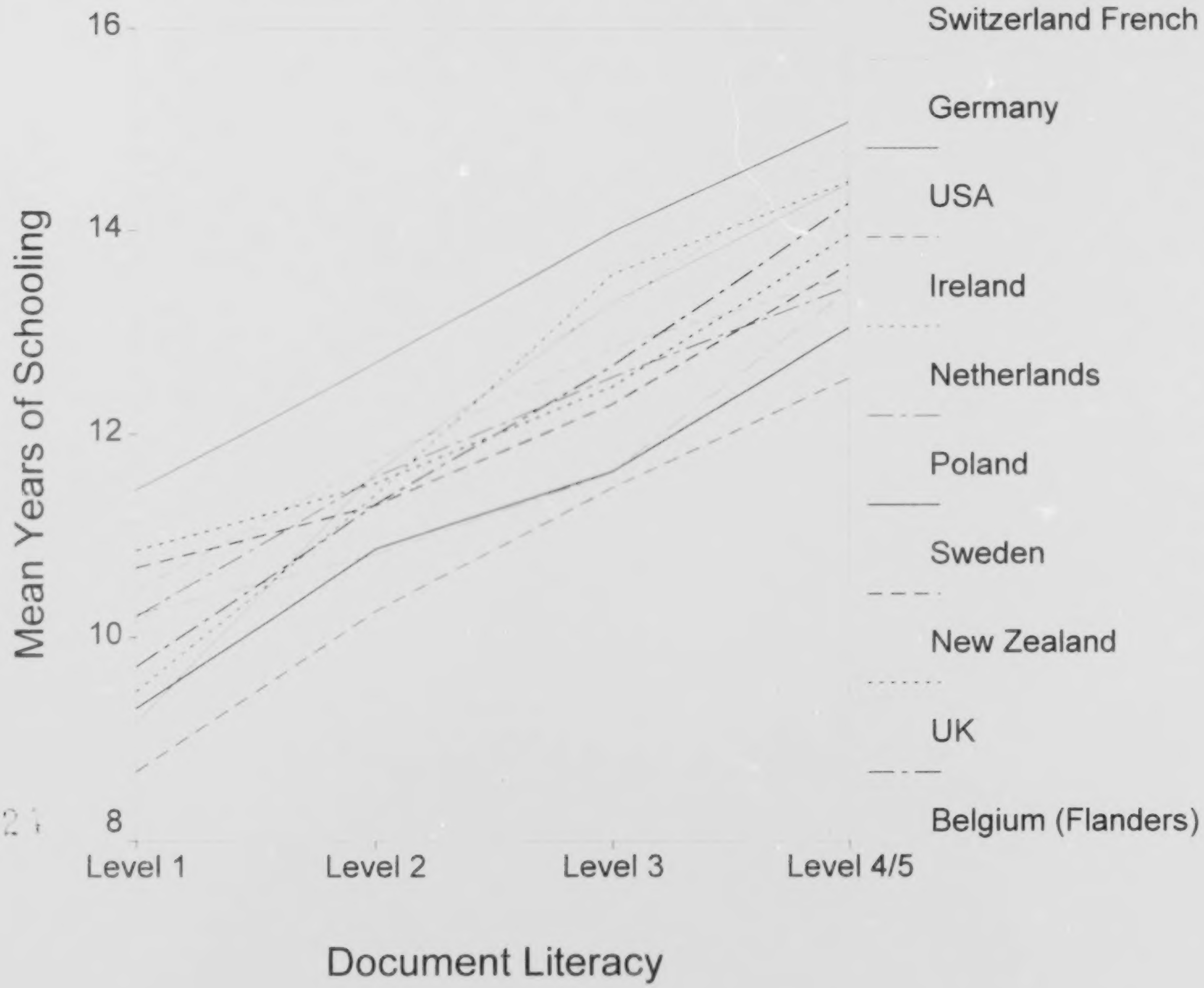


Figure 8.—Percent of adults at lowest level of document literacy

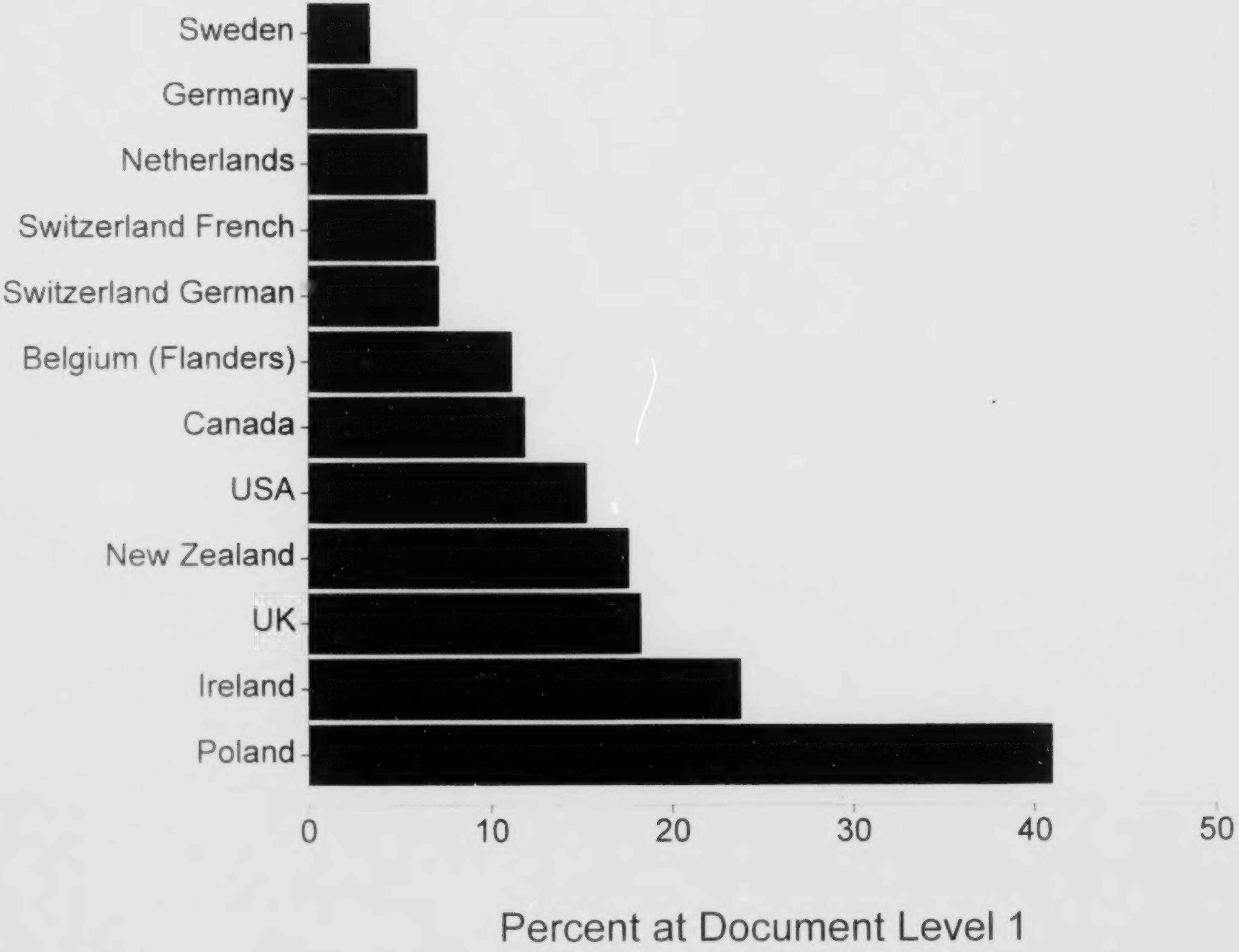


Figure 9.—Mean personal income quintile (1–5) of low-proficiency adults

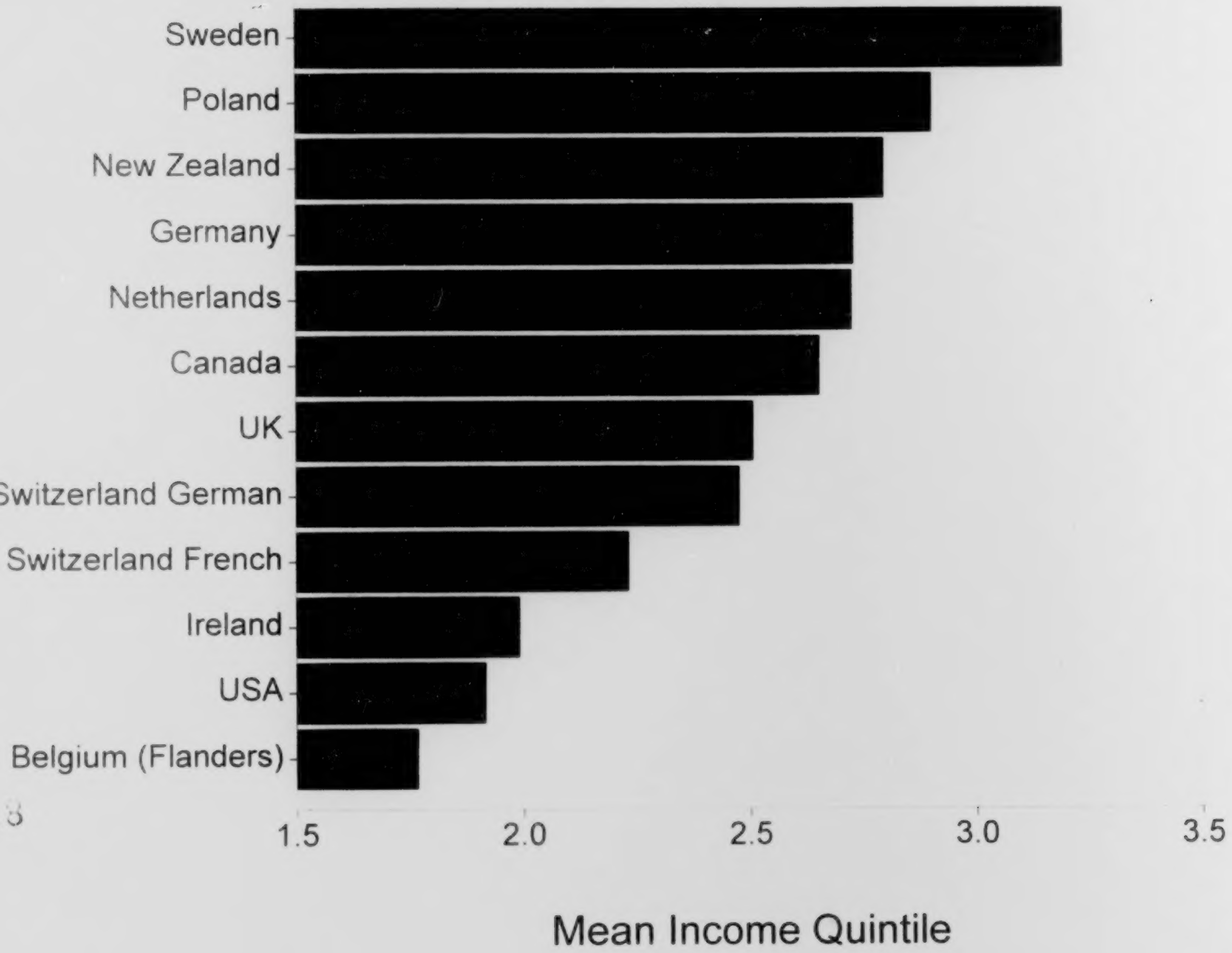


Figure 10.—Learning disabilities among low-proficiency adults

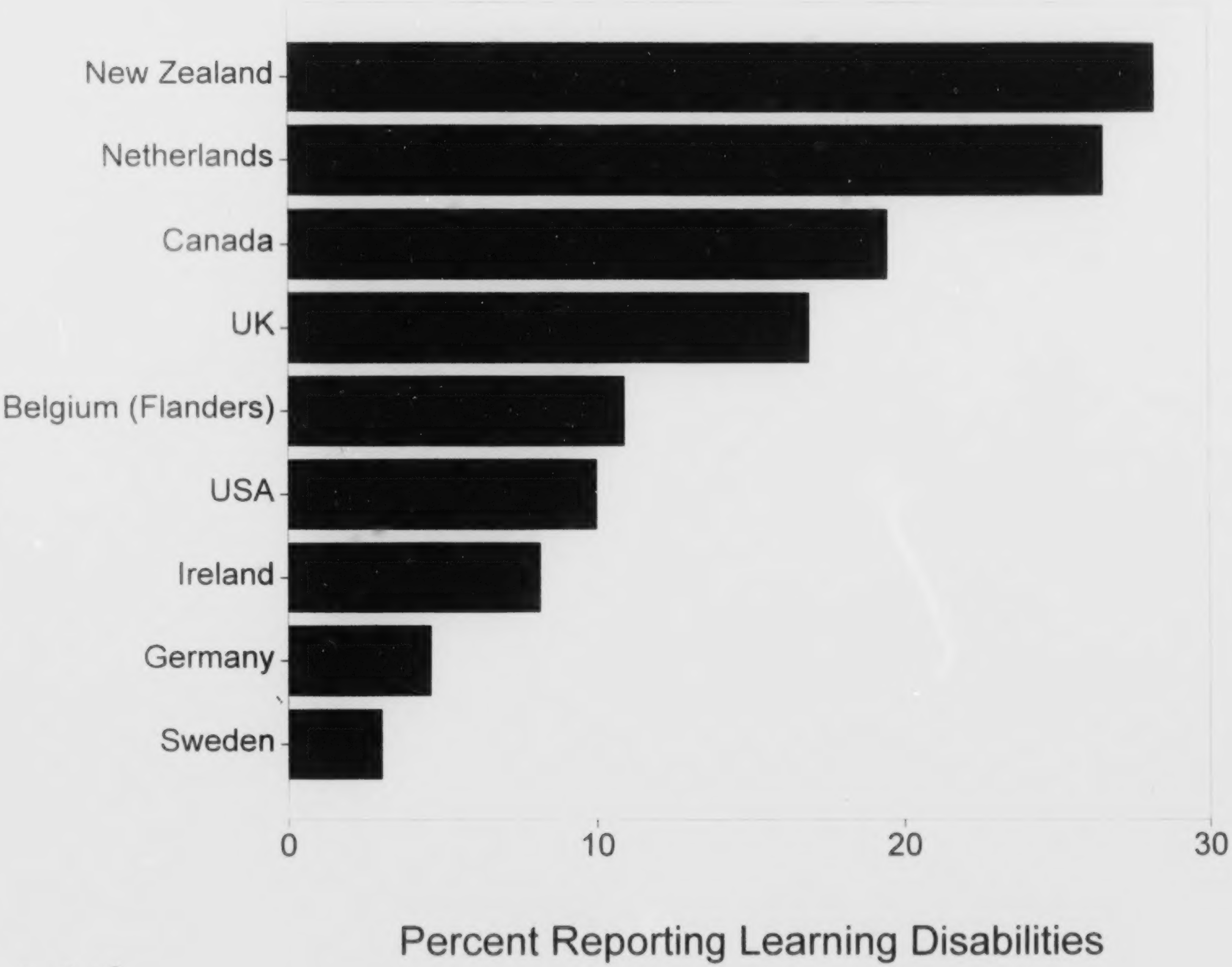


Figure 11.—High literacy with little formal education

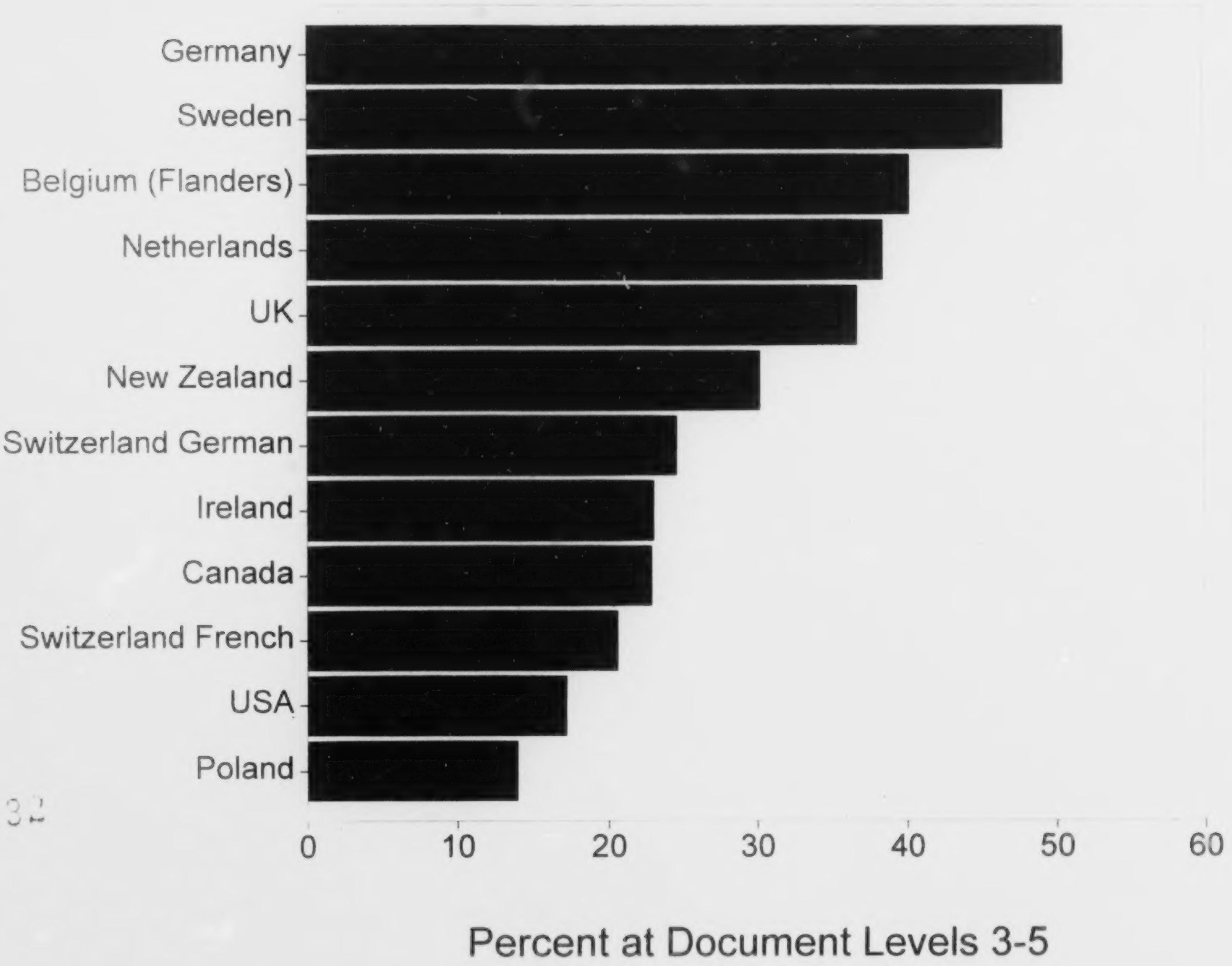


Figure 12.—Basic skills training and level of literacy skills

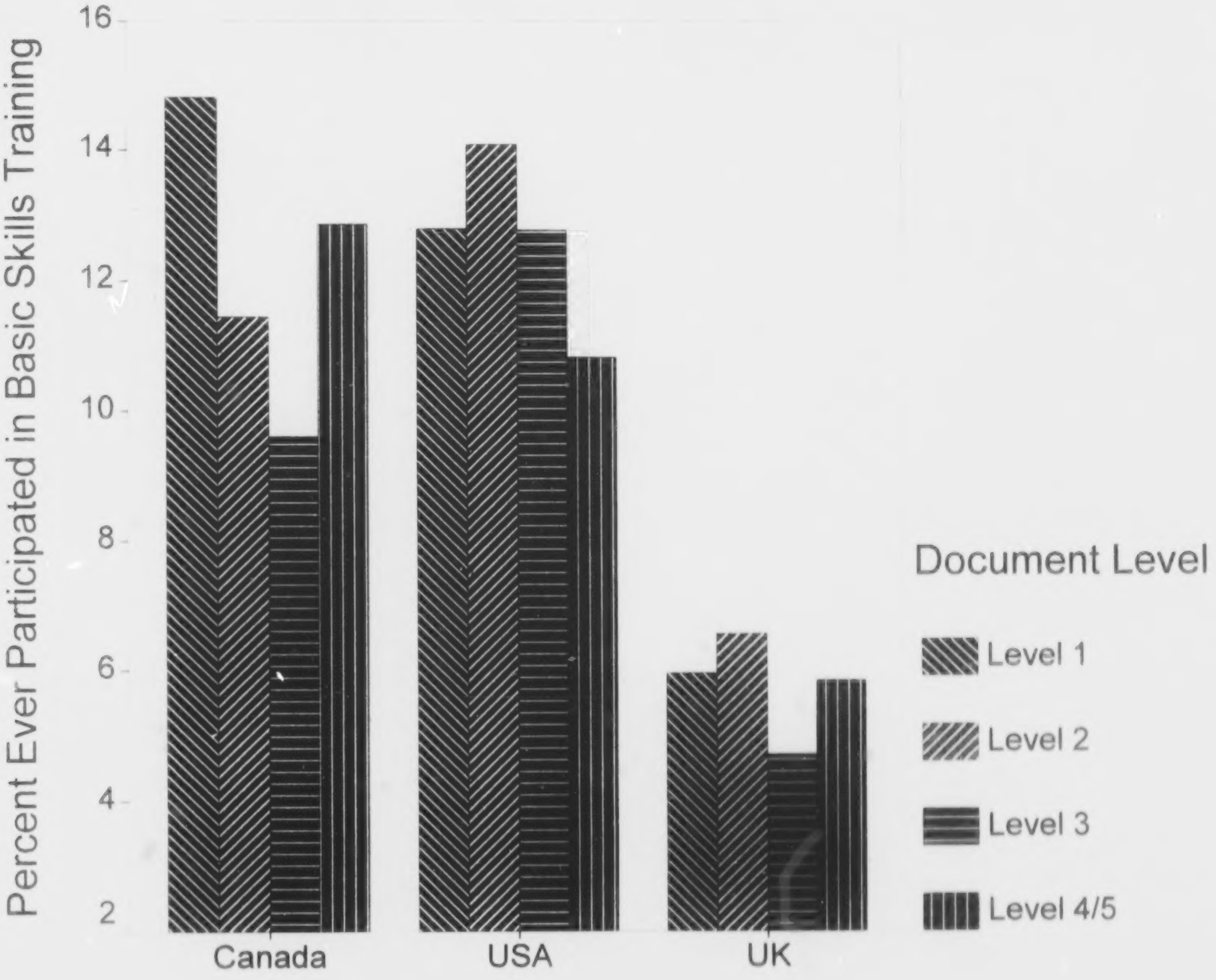


Figure 13.—Basic skills training and satisfaction with literacy skills

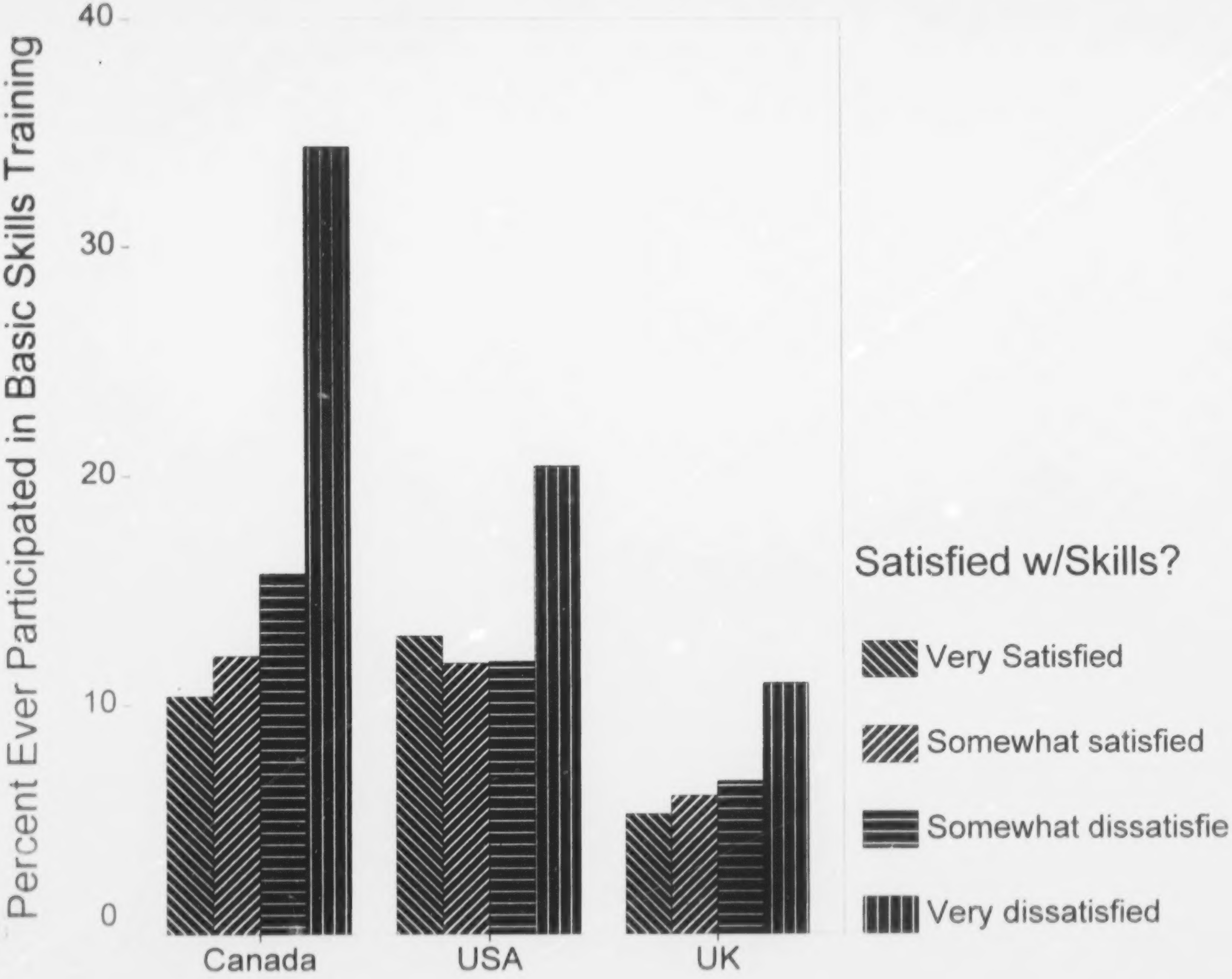


Figure 14.—Basic skills training and workplace learning

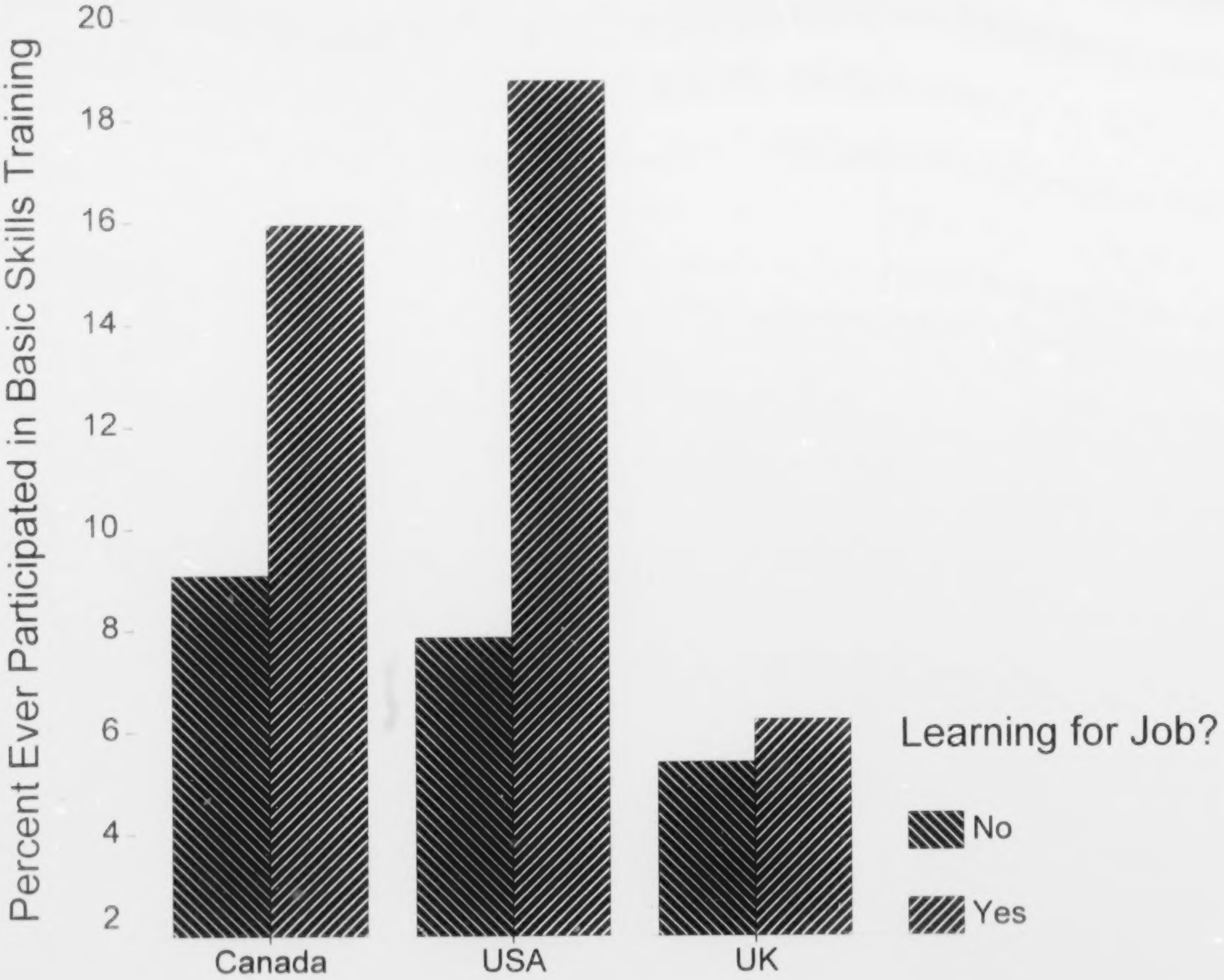


Figure 15.—Literacy assistance among low-proficiency adults

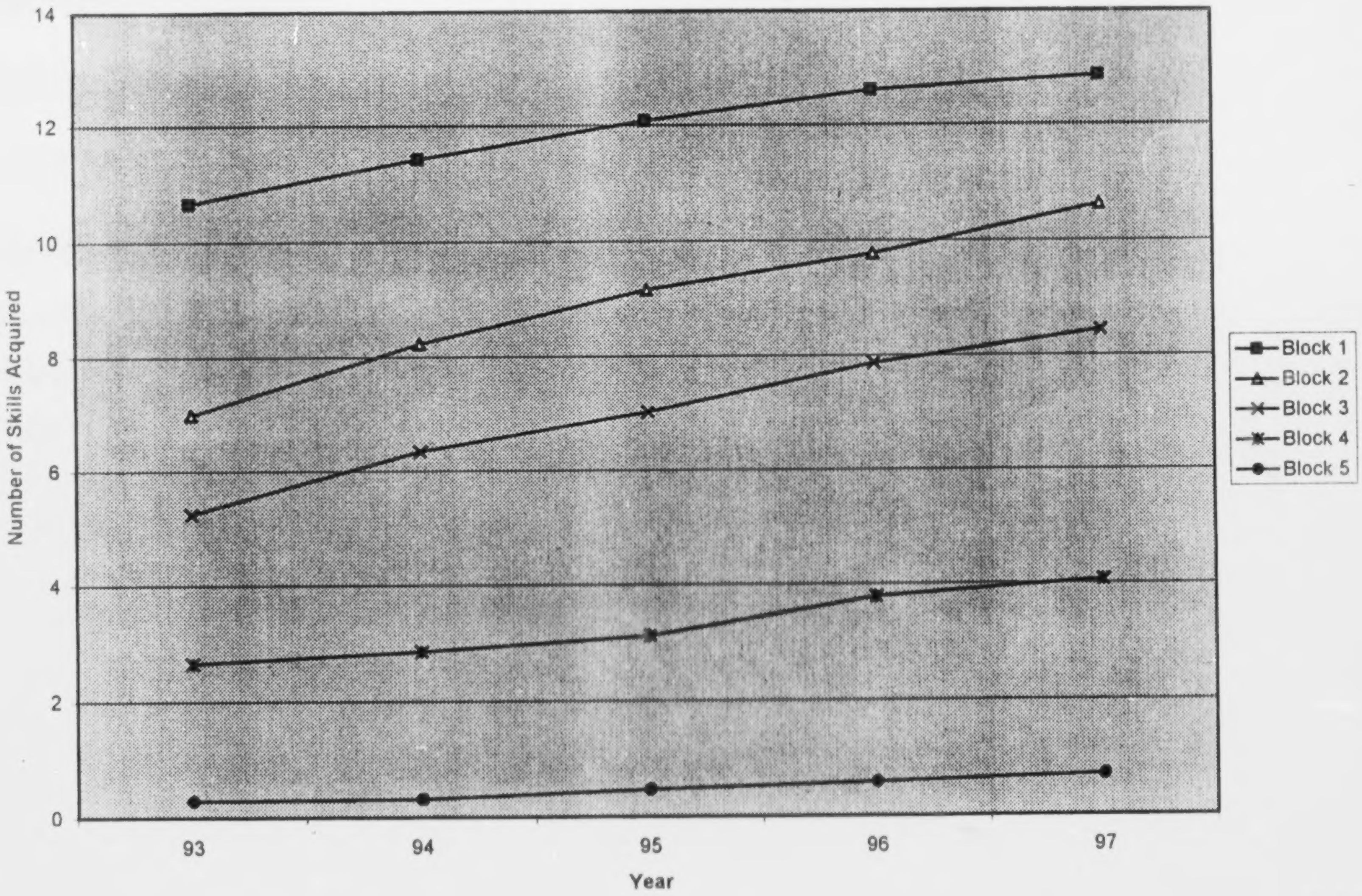


Figure 16.—Basic skills training and literacy assistance among low-proficiency adults

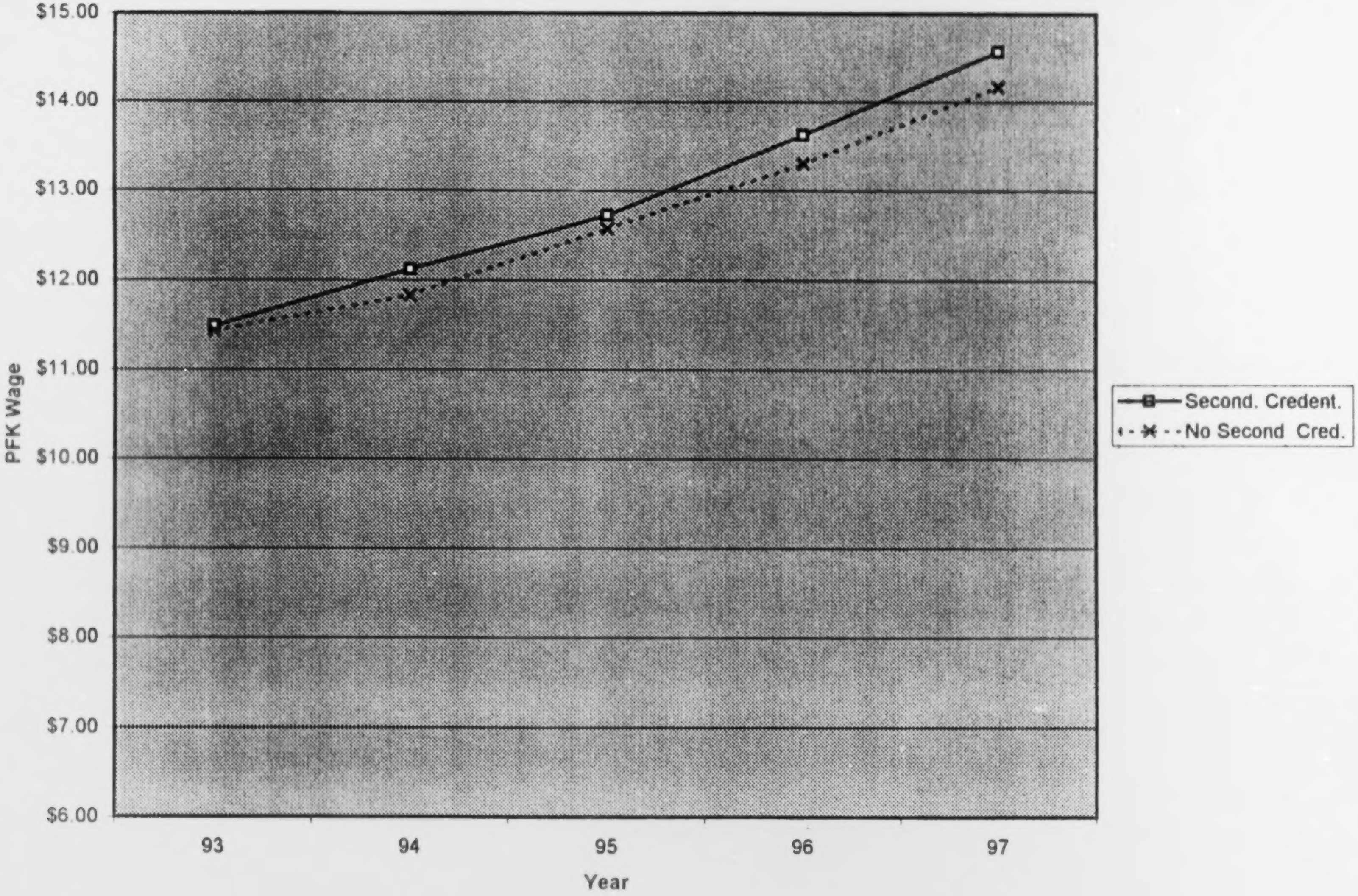


Figure 17.—Skill acquisition in a workplace

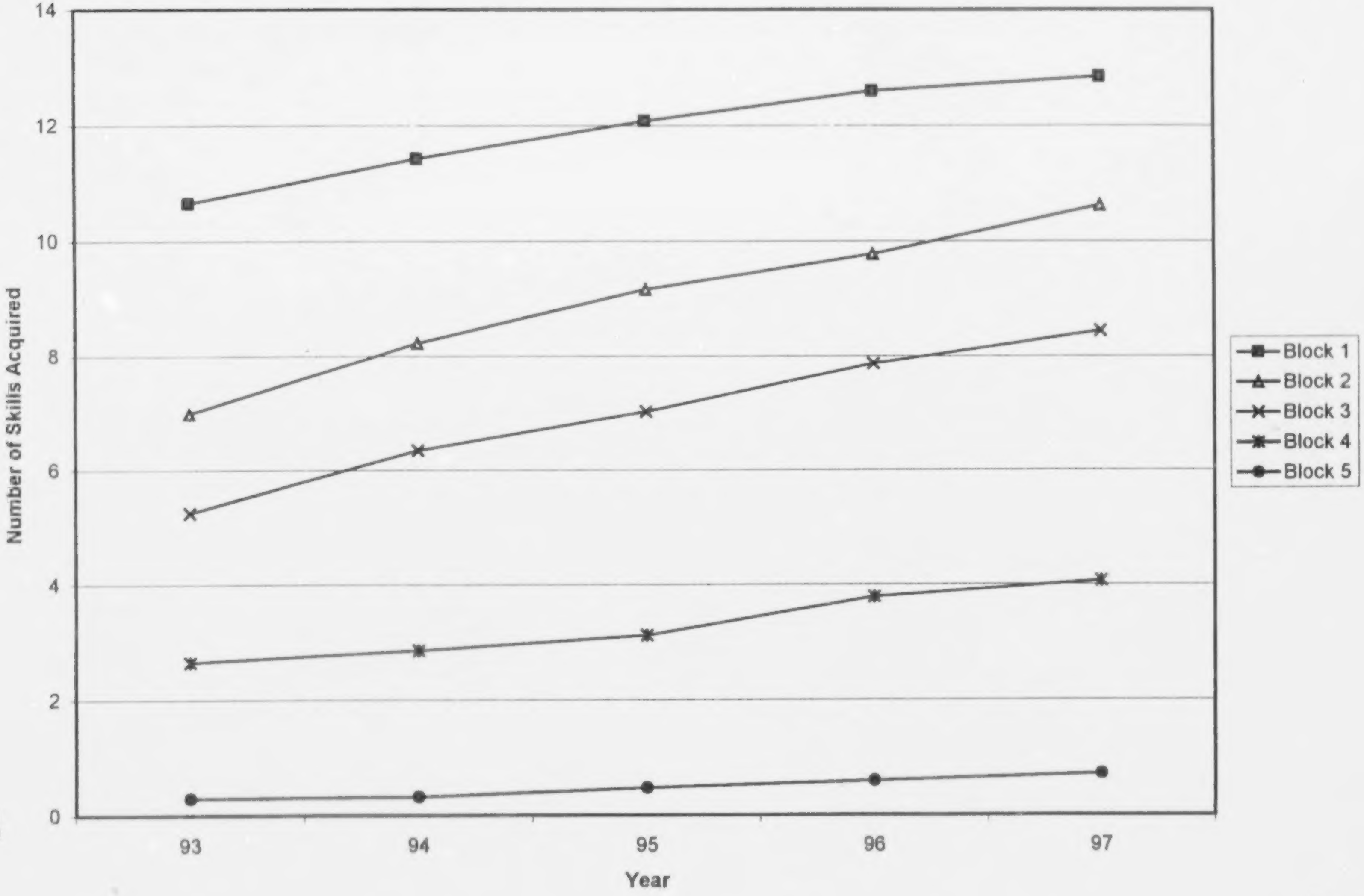


Figure 18.—Learning and earning in a workplace

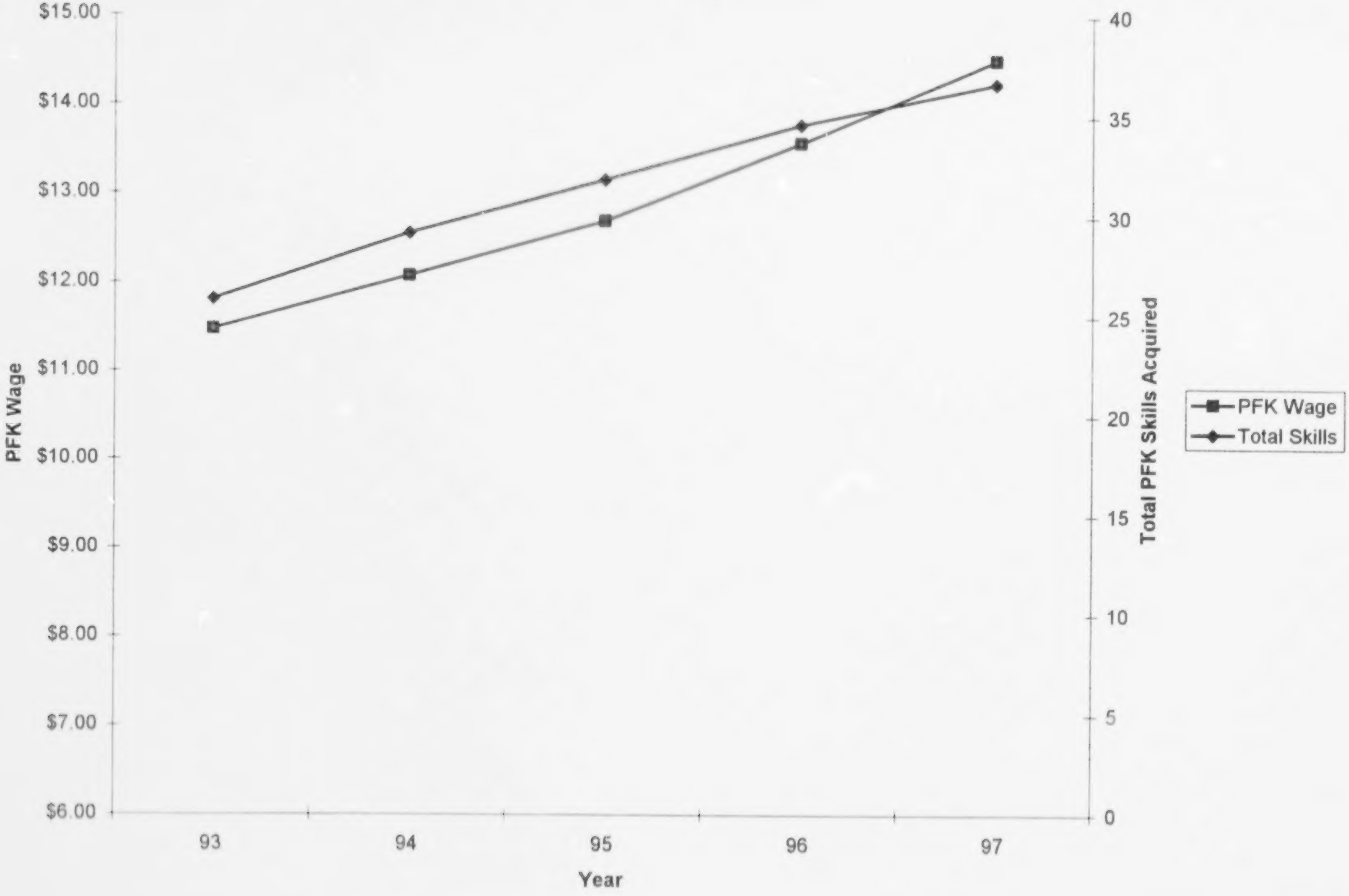


Figure 19.—Education and learning in a workplace

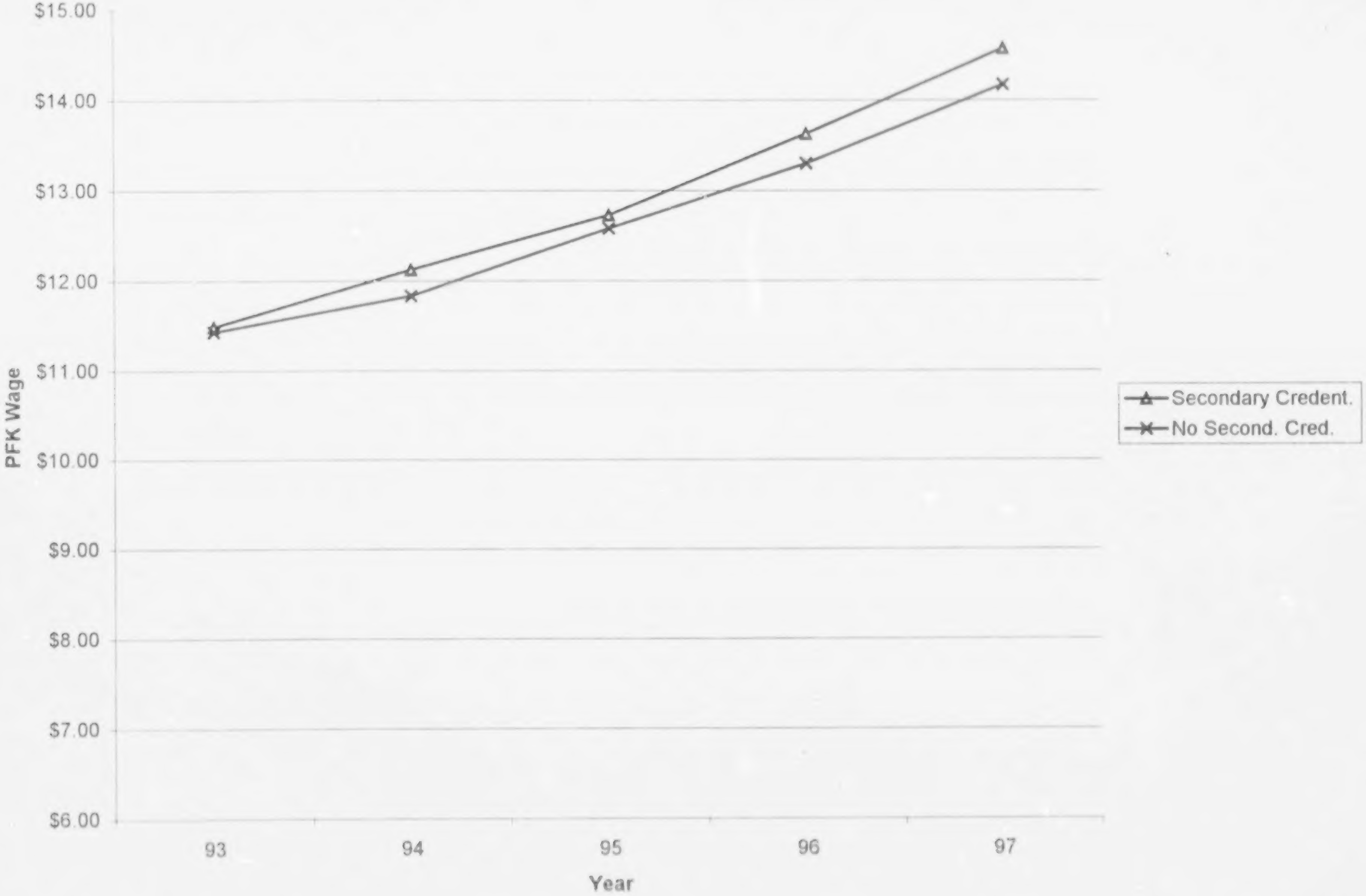
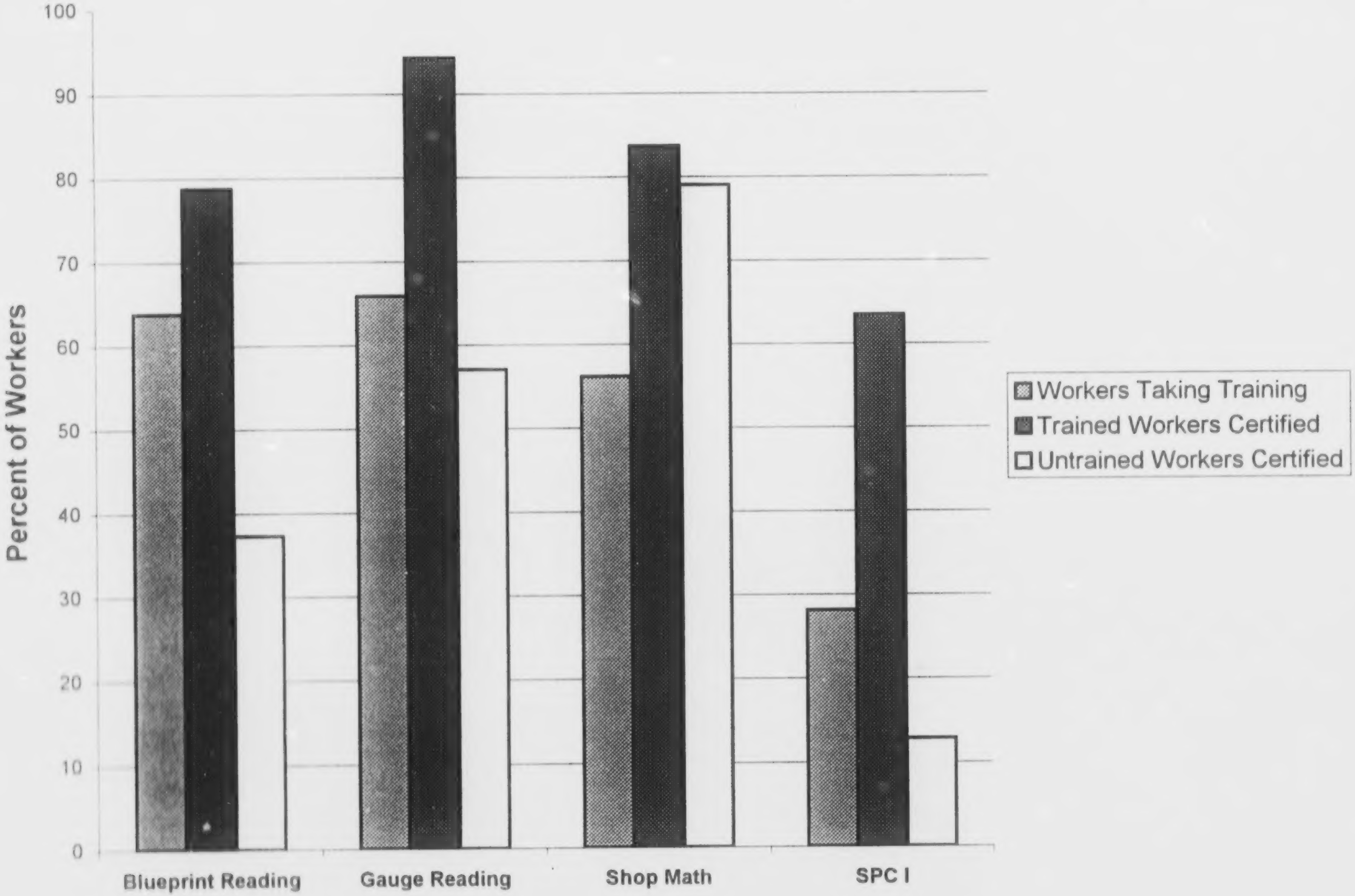


Figure 20.—Formal and informal learning in a workplace



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# Learning and Social Participation by Senior Citizens in Japan: Analysis of Major Issues from an International Perspective

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## Introduction

The objective of this paper is to review from an international major issues and challenges concerning the concept of aging, learning, and social participation perspective of Japanese senior citizens (SCs), and the provision and support systems rendered to them, with particular emphasis on the age groups between 60–79. In writing this paper, the author quotes extensively from the results of the following two survey reports: *"International Comparison of Learning and Social Participation by the Elderly"* (ICLSE, see Annex I*)*, published by the Training Center for Social Education of the National Education Hall in September 1997, and "*Integrated Study on Policy and Program Development for Lifelong Learning in the Aging Society*" (ISPPD, see Annex I–2), prepared by the National Institute for Educational Research of Japan (NIER). The former report is an international survey report based upon the results of the study conducted in Germany, Japan, Korea, Sweden, the U.K. (U.K.) and the United States of America (U.S.). The latter is basically a national report that contains some references to foreign countries on the theories, trends, policies, and practices of education and training for SCs. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), European Union (EU) publications, and other research papers were also used to review similar issues and problems in other countries. The present paper is also a contribution to the follow up to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) Fifth Conference on Adult Education (CONFINTEA V, Hamburg, July 14–18, 1997) which recommended creation of an educational environment supporting all forms of learning for older people.

## Demography

In 1990, 14.9 million Japanese citizens above the age 65 constituted 12 percent of the entire population. The Population Census statistics in January 1997 predict that 27.4 percent of the entire Japanese population will be over 65 years of aged in 2025, and this age group will increase to 32.3 percent by 2050. Although aging is a general tendency among OECD countries, Japan is the most rapidly society in the OECD area (Hennesy 1994).

Japanese citizens' mean life expectancy is 76.4 for men and 82.8 for women in 1995. This means that people on the average now have 15 to 20 years to live even after the age 65. This age group will constitute 32.3 percent of the entire Japanese population by 2050, although there are also noticeable regional difference in the make up of the elderly population.

As is the case with other countries, the Japanese aging phenomenon is the result of a low birth rate and low morality. However, there are other social factors contributing to this phenomenon.

For example, in geographically isolated rural areas of Japan, the migration of young people to urban areas and the lack of brides also are causes of the aging of local communities. (Tanaka 1990).

In 1990, according to the report on lifelong learning and aging published by Yamamoto et al. (1996), nearly 90 percent of the elderly were living with their children (married or not married) in the same household, but this percentage decreased to 60 percent in 1990, 24.1 percent of the elderly live with their spouse and 10.9 percent live alone. But there are considerable regional differences in the makeup of older people. For example, 8 percent of SCs in Yamagata Prefecture (an agricultural area) live with their children while only 45.1 percent of SCs in Tokyo live separately from their children. Even if SCs live in the same household with their children, they are increasingly independent with their own facilities (entrance, kitchen, and telephones, TV).

## Income, Consumption, and Employment

The above-mentioned NIER report indicates the average annual income of SCs over age 65 as 2,890,000 Yen (approximately 22,600 U.S. dollars). The total income consist of pension (56 percent), income from work (32 percent), income from property (9 percent), and contributions from family (3 percent). In addition, 3.8 percent of SCs have an income of more than $78,000. Their income from work represents a significant portion of the income of Japanese SCs. Given the modest income of SCs in Japan, their expenditure on food is considerably larger than that of other generations on the same item. So called "social" expenses are also quite high (17–18 percent) as their seniority status demands numerous gifts to their children, grandchildren, their involvement in marriages, parties, and funerals.

The results of the survey, *Employment status of the elderly* (target age group 55–69), published by the Ministry of Labor in 1996, show that 76.6 percent of male SCs and 43.7 percent of female SCs were working. The population of SCs' employers was also increasing (55 percent for men and 40 percent for women). Among the nonworking SCs, 50 percent of men and 30 percent of women expressed their wish to be employed. Thirty percent of the unemployed SCs whose age was above 55 was still seeking jobs.

## Free time, Leisure, and General Life Satisfaction

The NIER's ISPPD study attempted to compare the use of free time management and leisure activities between Japanese citizens in their twenties and those in their sixties. The data reveals that although the elderly citizens have more free time than the younger people in their twenties, SCs participation in social activities is lower that those SCs' of this age group. However, SCs spend more time on TV, radio, and newspaper than the younger group. According to a longitudinal study conducted during 1975–1990 by the Institute for Integrated Research for the Aged in the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, there is a shift from passive ways to spend free time to active participation in sports and hobby activities. The report also indicates that the time spent by SCs in learning activities lags behind their participation in leisure and hobbies. The same report also demonstrates a generally high degree of life satisfaction among SCs in Japan, but it questions whether this is because they are really happy or their feeling of happiness is due to the lowered exception of SCs in their senior age. Culture may perhaps play a role in this perception.

## Current Campaign

In June 1997, the Central Council for Education, an advisory body to the Minister of Education, published a report entitled *Japanese education in perspective of the twenty-first century*.

Underlining the importance of the issue of senior citizens, the report asserted, "how to create a society in which men and women participate equally in planning the future, a society in which opportunities are guaranteed for men and women, as equal constituents of society, to participate in all areas of their own free will."

This report emphasizes "the realization of a society, in which senior citizens are to be encouraged to lead an independent life; yet to be cooperative with others and to recognize the diversity of values pertinent to their own self-actualization as well as that of others; and to be able to feel spiritual richness and fulfillment."

In the above-mentioned ICLSE reports, several new lines of thought also emerge on the life of senior citizens in Japan.

First, to place the emphasis on self-actualization is to challenge the fatalistic pathological notion of the biological decay and gradual loss of intellectual and social functioning of the individual. The concept of active aging opens up the concept of senior citizens who can continue to grow healthier, wiser, and socially more active.

Secondly, the Japanese SCs are encouraged to take more initiatives in their activities and to engage in a more "individualized" mode of thinking, life style, and professional activities. This means that the elderly citizens are considered as important human resources capable of contributing to the socioeconomic and cultural development of the society, rather than portrayed as passive citizens who become social and economic burdens on society and its younger generations.

Thirdly, Japanese society places supreme importance on the individual citizen's spiritual richness, sense of fulfillment and happiness as an ultimate goal of aging, from which the idea of Japanese SCs' contributing to their country's economy naturally becomes possible.

Fourthly, the gender aspect is explicitly and clearly recognized as a fundamental issue when dealing with all aspects of learning and social participation by senior citizens.

## Senior Citizenship in the Context of Lifelong Learning

The concept of lifelong learning proposed by UNESCO and the OECD (recurrent education in the latter case) was introduced to Japan through the 1960s and 1970s (Okamoto 1990). The

National Council on Educational Reform, an ad hoc committee (1984–87), submitted a report, which emphasizes "the transfer of all education systems to a comprehensive lifelong learning system."

The following are goals of the Council on Educational Reform for constructing a "lifelong learning society:"

- to overcome the "diploma-oriented society;"
- to provide learning opportunities to respond to the growing demand for leisure-oriented learning activities; and
- to continue learning to cope with social, economic, and technological changes.

In 1988, the Social Education Bureau of the Japanese Ministry of Education was transformed into the Lifelong Learning Bureau, in which the Section for Social Education was established. This Section has since then been responsible for the education of the elderly.

The notion of learning for the elderly is deeply rooted in the Japanese concept of lifelong learning. Lifelong learning in Japan understood and practiced among the general public is very broad, as reflect in the above-mentioned goal. Lifelong learning reminds the Japanese of various cultural and sporting activities to be enjoyed by people with a view to improving the quality of daily life, filling their spare time, satisfying their intellectual curiosity, and just having fun and pleasure. For the Japanese, lifelong learning is basically consumption in economic terms but not investment (Okamoto 1994).

As Okamoto points out (1994), the above mentioned third goal of lifelong learning is understood as a theory, but the notion of linking lifelong learning to economic development is not a supported or accepted idea. The transformation of a predominantly leisure oriented notion of lifelong education to one, which is more, diversified, integrated, or economically gainful, is a big challenge for the Japanese. To grow up to be a senior citizen, which is healthy, professionally and economically active, and productive, and socially caring and fulfilled, is, at least conceptually, more and more understood by the Japanese. What is important in this process of transformation, however, may be not to lose sight of the traditional spirit of leisure or pleasure seeking. One may try not to go against the tradition but to use it to further develop an active aging theory, which simultaneously satisfies the individual's desire for leisure and pleasure oriented activities, and social and economic needs.

## Current and Future Challenges

### Individual and Social Attitudes Towards Aging

It is often pointed out that the Japanese are age conscious. The reason for this is not simply that people are curious about other's age, but by knowing the age of a person one can determine which social and communication codes to employ in dealing with people older or younger than oneself—how to address, how to greet, and how to treat them. Age carries a very strong message in Japanese society.

The first challenge is for senior citizens to develop a more positive image of aging itself. Perhaps this is not a problem that is unique to Japanese old people. How often do we hear people in every country saying: "Oh, I am too old to do this." "I can't beat my age." or "This happened because of my age." Whether old or young is not linearly correlated with one's biological and physical changes. It is a well-known fact that the state of mind of the individual considerably affects one's perception of age. Feeling is, to a great extent, a subjective matter. Self-felt oldness probably arises from our past learning. Do optimistic attitudes disappear as people age, or is a more or less persistent characteristic developed over years? Some longitudinal studies indicate that human personality remains remarkably stable (Sperry & McNeil 1996).

The second challenge related the attitudes towards aging to develop the capacity of SCs to prioritize the activities they wish to engage in. The elderly can optimize their level of functioning by concentrating their efforts on things that are important for them, and by seeking to regain some control over the direction of their lives in behavioral domains that are improbable (Bandura 1997). The ICLSE survey asked SCs what they consider their most important concerns were. Health was chosen most frequently as the most important concern by Korea, Germany, Japan, and U.K. (in order of percentage). Swedes and Americans chose "the future of their children/grandchildren" as their first priority concern, followed by health.

The management of free time by SCs in relation to their nonfree time (if they have jobs) seems to be one of the crucial factors determining the degree of their participation in individually and socially useful activities. But it is not the amount of available free time, which directly determines the participation of SCs, but rather the ways in which SCs perceive time and manage to allocate and use time over different activities. The ICLSE study demonstrates a significant fact that in almost all countries, SCs' with a moderate amount of free time tend to participate in learning and training activities more frequently than those SCs who have plenty of free time.

Sense of efficacy through self-direct learning is particularly advantageous of SCs' themselves: a sense of self-efficacy in controlling their contents of learning, the choice of methods of learning, and types of social activities. A sense of efficacy not only promotes health but also aids physical and social recovery from injuries common to older people (Bandura 1997). Both ICLSE and ISPPD reports treat this issue in relation to support and provision policies for the learning, training, and social participation of SCs. These reports recommend that SCs' can benefit from leaner-centered policy and support whereby individual differences (e.g., between beginners in learning, willing self-supporters, expert learners, and SCs' in their eighties) are carefully taken into consideration.

Selective dependence can supplement self-directed learning and life management of their lives and SCs' should not hesitate to seek for necessary and reasonable help from others. Dependency does not necessarily indicate helplessness (Baltes 1992). Bandura in his new book entitled *Self-efficacy* (1997) distinguishes between dependence on others and seeking help in areas of functional limitations to preserve one's autonomy. (p. 206).

A sense of self-worth is a contributing factor to the lives of SCs'. The ISPPD report refers to a study conducted 10 years ago by an insurance company on couples married for 50 years: 80

percent of the male SCs' in this group report that they still enjoyed playing an executive role in city councils or other autonomous public bodies, and 70 percent of female SCs' said that they were still active chief housekeepers. Perhaps, perceived selfworth of SCs' and perceived efficacy are mutually facilitating factors for active aging.

Reducing social stereotypes associated with aging is another big challenge. The general public must be convinced of the groundless nature of some negative images associated with old age, such as being tired, cranky, sick, weak, forgetful, and withdrawn. The optimistic images of aging need to permeate society, treating aging as a normal developmental process, which enables people to continue to learn and to self-actualize, to produce and to contribute to the economic and social sectors of society.

## Variations of Aging

OECD (1996) distinguishes between individual aging (people living longer), population aging (more older people as a consequence of "baby-boom"), and active aging (changes in how time is spent in different age groups). The Japanese ICLSE study focused on the third concept—active aging for which, according to the OECD, government policies can do much now to influence the way in which people allocate activities over their life time (OECD 1996).

With regard to individual differences in aging, major longitudinal studies have documented the notion of interindividual variability and heterogeneity (Baltes & Baltes 1990).

The Japanese ICLSE study, which employed a cross-sectional analysis of four age groups (60–64; 65–69; 70–74; and 75–79), demonstrates several interesting interage group variations among different age levels of SCs, such as the following:

- there is a tendency in all countries, which participated in the study for senior citizens' willingness to change decrease with age (particular from sixties to seventies);
- in some countries (Japan, Korea, Germany), the proportion of SCs reporting a sense of fulfillment and happiness decreases in their seventies, whereas among SCs in the U.S., the U.K. and Sweden, this tendency was not observed;
- the SCs in their sixties in all countries reported that they are more healthy than their counterparts in the seventies;
- the peak participation age by SCs in learning activities for all countries is between 60 and 64, except in Japan (65–69) and the participation rate decreases gradually with age (lowest between 75–79);
- there is an age-related steady decline in the rate of social participation of SCs for both job-holders and non-job-holders in all countries surveyed; and
- in response to the question "who should be responsible for the continued learning of SCs'," the answer "don't know" increases by age.

Policies addressing senior citizens can take both individual and interage group variations into consideration. The Japanese ICLSE, which is a cross-sectional study, indicates that senior citizens have more free time as they grown older. But they are less willing to change, less socially active and less healthy.

Moreover, the notion of active aging, designed to identify the most satisfying, effective and productive ways to organize and allocate time over different age groups of SCs squarely challenges senior citizens' resistance to change.

There is an age-related decrease in happiness and satisfaction in Japan, Korea, and Germany. This is not true among SCs in U.S., the U.K., and Sweden. This fact encourages thinking that people's feeling of happiness can be sustained.

Despite the fact that people are living longer, according to ICLSE study, Japanese SCs' peak participation in learning is between 65 and 69, whereas for SCs in other countries, it is between 60 to 64.

## Gender Issues

The most recent report of the Central Council for Education in Japan, recommended "creating a society in which opportunities are guaranteed for men and women to participate equally in planning the future." Gender is clearly a priority policy for the Japanese government.

Gender differences in patterns of learning and social participation are greater in Japan and Korea than in European countries and the United States.

The following are some examples from the ECLSE report:

- more male than female SCs report that they are always "happy and fulfilled" in all countries (the difference is 5 percent in Korea, the U.K., and Germany);
- in all countries, slightly more men than women report they are healthy;
- there is a gender difference in the degree of interest manifested in social participation: more men scored more highly than women did in Japan and Korea, did, but this tendency was reversed in the U.K. In Japan and Korea SCs in their sixties are more interested in voluntary social and community affairs than their counterparts who are in their seventies;
- in all countries, men read more books and magazines and participate more in learning activities organized by workplaces and other professional bodies. Women participate more than men in group circle activities and lectures organized by local public centers and schools;
- as to the purpose for continuing learning, in all the countries surveyed, men tend to endorse professional skills, knowledge, and qualifications more than women;
- more men than women replied "yes" to the question—"Have you applied what you have learned for the benefit of others and the society?"

- the participation rate in social activities among male SCs' is generally higher than among female SCs'. The difference between the two sexes in the participation rate is the largest in Japan and Korea (15 percent each);

- in all countries, female SCs without jobs report more than their male counterparts that they do not participate in social activities: The difference between the two sexes is the

- largest for Japan and Korea (19.6 percent, 15 percent, respectively), but this difference does not exist in the United States, the U.K., and Sweden;

- in all countries which participated in the study, female SCs tend to participate more than their male counterparts in social work, health promotion, and medical care; and

- except in the United States, male SCs report more than their female counterparts that their social participation activities exert impact at local and societal levels. The impact upon themselves and their lives is, on the other hand, reported more frequently by female SCs.

To summarize the main findings in this section of the paper on gender disparity: male SCs exceed female SCs in: self-rating of happiness and fulfillment; participation in continuing learning for a professional purpose; frequency of learning and application of their skills and experiences in the society; and rating of impact of their social participation on society.

Special attention and care policies are needed for those women who are divorced, widowed, or have never married. Poverty is a real problem for them (OECD 1996). Poverty is an additional adversity for these women. In all the countries which participated in the Japanese study, a significantly greater number of women (30.45 percent) than men (18.45 percent) were alone either as a result of divorce or death by their spouse. Particular in Japan and Korea, the number of single women is more than four times larger than that of men.

In Japan, for women who have never worked outside the home, their husbands' retirement presents often a painful dilemma because of their permanent presence at home. In some cases, it ends up in separation or divorce of a couple.

With regard to the low birthrate, if Japan is to prevent a further fall, better provision of maternity leave and child caring facilities is an option (OECD 1998). Increased employment of the female population including female SCs' is also a measure to cope with the labor shortage due to the aging of the society in Japan.

Although life expectancy of women is greater, they tend at all ages to report higher numbers of illnesses in EU countries (Anderson 1992). The Japanese ICLSE study reported the same tendency in three EU countries (Germany, the U.K., Sweden) and in three non-EU countries, (Korea, Japan, and the United States). The ICLSE survey also indicates that the participation rate of female SCs' both in learning and social activities is lower than their counterpart male SCs'.

Korea where women's participation rate is lowest among the countries surveyed also reported significantly fewer women than men who said they are healthy. The relationship among several variables—gender, health, and culture, needs to be further clarified.

## Happiness, Health, and Active Senior Citizenship

One of the significant results disclosed by the Japanese comparative study (ICLSE) is the close relationship between the perceived individual happiness and satisfaction of SCs and their participation in learning and social activities. In all the countries surveyed, the results indicate that active SCs participants are also have and fulfilled People.

The study clearly indicates the general tendency in all countries that healthy SCs are also active learning and social participants. In other words, the more actively SCs participate in learning and volunteer activities, the healthier they are result has an important implication for health care for senior citizens. The ICLSE study model predicts the possible reduction of medical care of 6,490 billion yen for this group with 5 percent increase of the SC population who participate in learning between age 60 to 79.

It may be argued that if good quality of learning programs and of social participation activities are ensured, the society can achieve two important goals simultaneously—increased happiness and fulfillment of the individual senior citizen and the reduction of public burden arising from pension and the medical care costs, which occupy a substantial portion of the national budget.

## Time Availability

The availability of free time is an important factor affecting the degree of participation and non participation of senior citizens in learning, training, social, and volunteer activities. Among people who chose the response alternative "have a lot of time," Japan ranked first (47.2 percent), followed by Germany (43.4 percent), U.K. (42.7 percent), United States (38.7 percent), Sweden (38.3 percent), and Korea (29.0 percent). Except in Sweden, men reported more free time than women. In all countries, SCs' have more free time, as they grow older.

The free time available for SCs' is a basic factor, but the activities and purposes contained in the so-called "free time" is even more important. It is imperative to maintain people in gainful activities longer. In order to achieve this objective, it will be necessary to ensure that educational and training policies are adapted to the specific needs of older workers (OECD 1996).

## The Content of Learning and Training

The following response alternatives were given to SCs to respond to the question—"In the past 12 months, have you participated in any of the following learning activities?":

- job-related learning activities;
- activities useful for family life (cooking or cleaning);
- health-related learning activities and sports;
- politics, economics, society;
- literature, philosophy, history, natural sciences, foreign language learning;

- arts;
- other hobby activities; and
- others.

The rank-order participation rate among the countries concerned are as follows: U.K. (61.7 percent); Sweden (53.8 percent); United States (44.3 percent); Japan (39.3 percent); Germany (25.4 percent); and Korea (24.7 percent).

Sports and hobbies are the most popular activities for Japanese and Germans and sports are most popular activities for Americans and Koreans. U.K. SCs' most practical activities are useful for the family life. Swedish SCs' most preferred those activities related to culture and science.

In all countries, "job-related activities" and those corresponding to "politics, economics and society" were endorsed more frequently by male SCs than by females. Except in U.S., on the other hand, women endorsed "arts" more frequently than men. In Japan. Korea, and U.S., "activities useful for family life" are more engaged by women than by men, but English men scored higher on this than their counterpart women.

The participation rate is higher for men than women in Japan, Korea, U.K. and Germany and the largest gender-attributed difference (25 percent) was observed in Korea. The learning participation rate decreases with age in Korea, United States, U.K. and Sweden. The peak participation age for the Japanese is between 65–69 (43.4 percent).

The survey correlated the participation rate with the number of years of education and training (ET) completed by SCs (less than 6 years; 7–9 years; 10–12 years; more than 13 years). The results show that there is a high positive correlation across the countries between these two variables—the longer the schooling, the more participation of SCs in learning activities. Swedish SCs with more than 13 years of schooling manifested 79.8 percent participation rate.

## Contents of Learning and Previous Education and Training (ET)

The study also correlated the contents of learning and number of years of previous education and training (ET). It was found that, except in U.K., the most frequent learning activities held by SCs with more than 13 years of ET are job-related ones (20–30 percent). In Japan, Germany, and Sweden, the longer the ET of SCs, the less they are engaged in "activities useful for family life" "politics, economics, and society," and "culture, and natural sciences" increases.

## Methods of Learning

The questions concerning the methods of learning focused on the following aspects:

- learning and training activities organized at workplaces and by professional bodies agricultural associations, unions);

- lectures and seminars organized by local public bodies and community centers;
- reading books and magazines;
- TV, radio programs, video;
- learning with friends, and colleagues, family members in group circles at the local level in workplaces and schools;
- private lessons;
- attending university courses (including correspondence courses);
- non-university correspondence courses;
- others; and
- "I don't know."

SCs in six countries were asked to select their top three methods of learning. Japanese SCs chose "group circle" activities as the most frequently used method. For the SCs in Korea, the United States, U.K., Germany, Sweden, reading books and magazines was their first choice. Especially, 89 percent Americans and more than 70 percent of Britons and Swedes chose this item as their first choice.

In all countries, men read books, and magazines, and participate more in learning activities organized in workplaces and professional bodies than women. However, women participate more in group circle activities and also in lectures organized by public offices and schools.

SCs in Japan and Sweden, as they grow older, engage themselves more in learning activities organized in workplaces, whereas their learning activities in group circles decrease. In Sweden, there is a remarkable age related increase for those SCs' who read books and magazines.

From these findings, one may be able to infer that the longer the years of previous ET, the more SCs tend to participate in more activities organized by professional bodies.

## Methods and Contents of Learning

There is a tendency among Japanese SCs to have sports and hobby activities as a group activity, and Americans and Britons tend to engage themselves in an individual mode of learning such as reading books and magazines. In general, reading is a typical individualistic activity. Japanese and Korean SCs' engage in this activity much less frequently than their counterparts in European and North American countries. Japanese SCs' read much less than their counterparts even when they engage themselves in cultural and science learning activities and those activities useful for family life, for which reading is an easily available mode of learning.

## The Purpose of SCs' Participation in Specific Learning Activities

The SCs were asked to choose three of the following response alternatives in order of importance:

- for professional purposes and qualifications;
- to maintain good health and improved physical condition;
- obtain sense of well being, pleasure, and fun;
- for a better family life;
- for the acquisition of knowledge and better education;
- to gain acquaintances and friends; and
- for hobbies.

In most countries, male SCs learn more for professional and qualification and for better knowledge and education than female SCs. Men in Japan, United States, and U.K. tended to report, more than women, the item "for well-being, pleasure, fun. English and Swedish men endorsed more than their women the item "better family life." Women in most of the countries had a high rate of endorsing "health" reasons.

## Purpose of Learning and Previous Education and Training (ET)

In Japan, the longer the duration of ET, SCs tend to endorse the purpose "knowledge and better education" less than their counterparts who had a shorter period of education. This group with the longest duration of education (more than 13 years) also endorse less the purposes, such as health and friends. The longer the previous ET of American SCs', the less likely they endorse gaining friends as a purpose of learning.

## The Relationship Between the Methods of Learning and its Purpose

SCs' tend to regard workplace as a place of professional training aimed at higher level of competence and qualification, and public centers and schools as a place for fun and pleasure. The high rate of SCs across the concerned countries indicated that "individualized" learning through books, magazines, TV, and radio, is mainly for fun and for the acquisition of better knowledge.

The SCs in Korea and Japan tend to regard activities carried out in group serving as a means to promote health, but European and North American SCs manifested a tendency to perceive group activities as fun and pleasure.

The survey results also show that among those SCs of U.K., Germany, and Sweden, who reported their engagement in practical activities useful for family life (but not those of Korea and Japan) tend to indicate pleasure, fun-seeking as the purpose of their learning, rather than the utility attached to practical activities for the family life. It may be suggested that in these countries, when the practicality of activities are combined with fun and pleasure, SCs' learning can probably more efficiently be pursued?

## The Application of Acquired Learning Experiences

There were four alternative responses to the question "Have you used or applied what you have learned for the benefit of others and the society?:" (1) Yes; (2) No, but I wish I could; (3) No, and I wouldn't do it; (4) I don't know.

The "Yes" answer appeared very high among United States and German SCs, followed by Sweden, U.K., Japan, and Korea. Both U.K. and Swedish SCs were also high in the third response "No, and I wouldn't do it."

In all countries, more men answered "Yes" than women to this question and men scored higher than women in the item indicating "I wish I could."

In all countries, the "Yes" answer for SCs with more than 13 years of previous ET was significantly higher than other SCs with shorter ET. But in Japan, an interesting fact is that a good number of this age group endorsed also "No, and I wouldn't do it" answer. In the Korean sample, there is a clear cut positive correlation between the duration of previous ET and the portion of SCs responding "Yes."

SCs of all countries reported that they have applied their acquired knowledge for the society. The 70 to 80 percent of the senior citizens surveyed in the United States, U.K., Germany, and Sweden reported the usefulness of their learning for their professional activities. It is also noteworthy that in the following categories of learning, SCs expressed their reservations for the application of what they have learned: hobby areas (Japan); political, economical, social cultural, and natural science areas (U.K.); and culture and natural science areas (Sweden).

## The Reasons of Nonparticipation in Learning Activities

The reasons for non participation for the last 12 months were investigated. There were 12 alternative responses: (1) "don't like it;" (2) "no opportunity around me;" (3) "no friends to do things with;" (4) "too expensive;" (5) "no time;" (6) "don't know where to find;" (7) "no support from my family;" (8) "don't know what to do;" (9) "not healthy enough to learn;" (10) "other reasons;" (11) "no particular reasons;" and (12) "don't know."

Except SCs in Germany, SCs pointed out "no time" as a main reason for their nonparticipation. In particular, this rate amounted to 30 percent of the total nonparticipation responses.

In Japan, Korea, and the U.K., approximately 20 percent of SCs reported health reasons for non-participation. In Korea, the responses "don't know what to do" and "don't know where to find" are more frequently compared to their counterparts in other countries. Twenty five percent of Americans answered "don't like learning." More than 20 percent of German SCs endorsed each the categories of the following answers: "don't like it," "don't know what to do," and "no particular reasons."

To summarize the main findings on the participation of SCs in learning and training is as follows: there are significant gender differences in learning participation of senior citizens, male SCs participate more; they also participate in professional or job-related activities more than women; and they apply what they have learned more than women. Culture seems to intervene in the methods of learning: there is a tendency among Japanese and Korean SCs who prefer group sports and hobby activities, whereas their European and American counterparts prefer a more individualistic mode of learning, such as reading books and magazines; and Koreans and Japanese tend to regard group activities as a means to promote health, but their American and European counterparts regard it as an activity associated with having fun and pleasure. There is a clearcut tendency in all countries that the longer the previous ET schooling, the more active participation their SCs have. The main reason for nonparticipation is non availability of time. The time-management of SCs stands out as a crucial factor determining the participation of lifelong learning of senior citizens.

## Types of Social Participation

What types of social and community volunteer work do senior citizens participate in? The following question was posed: "During the 12 months, have you participated in any social and community activities (excluding your job), which are useful to the society?"

There were nine alternative responses from which they could choose as many as alternatives: (1) clean the planet activities; (2) environmental protection and recycling; (3) cultural activities and sports; (4) social work, health, and medical care; (5) traffic safety, crime prevention, disaster prevention, disaster relief; (6) international exchange and activities; (7) other; (8) no particular activities; and (9) I don't know.

The participation rate volunteer activity participation by countries is as follows: United States (52.8 percent); the U.K. (50.0 percent); Sweden (46.5 percent); Japan (41.7 percent); Korea (25.7 percent); and Germany (24.7 percent). These figures are based on multi-response of the above mentioned items.

"Clean the planet" and "environmental protection and recycling" are the most popular activities among SCs' of all countries. Twenty-eight point seven percent and 33.6 percent of Americans endorsed these items, respectively ; 25.1 percent of Japanese SCs endorsed "clean the planet" and so did 26.5 percent of Swedish SCs.

## The Relationship Between Learning and Social Participation

In all countries, the survey data show that the more learning activities a senior citizen engages himself/herself in, the more he/she is an active participant in social and community activities.

Particularly highly popular voluntary activities among active learning participants are cultural, social, health promotion, and medical care. In America, those active participants in learning were also active participants in "clean the planet" activities, but, on the contrary, the less active participants in learning have higher participation rates in this activity in Germany.

## Previous Education and Training (ET)

In all countries; the longer the period of SCs' Previous ET, the more they participated in volunteer activities. There is a significantly large difference (25.8 percent) on the rate of social participation between SCs with 13 years or more education and training, and those with less than 6 years of ET. The Japanese and German data indicate that the rate of SCs participating in "clean the planet" activities decrease with longer level of schooling. On the contrary, in Japan, the United States, and Germany, SCs with more than 13 years of ET tend to participate more in activities associated with culture, social work, health, and medical care.

## Job and Social Participation

Are nonjobholders more active volunteer workers than jobholders because they have more free time? No, there is a general tendency that SCs without jobs participate less in social activities than job holders.

However, the regional differences are large on this score. On the average 40 to 45 percent of SCs without jobs in Japan, Korea, Germany, and Sweden reported that they do not participate in social activities. On the other hand, no job holders in Sweden, the U.K., and United States reported less than a 30-percent rate of social participation (34.1 percent, 32.6 percent, 31.4 percent, respectively).

In all countries, female SCs without jobs reported more "no-participation" in social activities than their counterpart male SCs. On the other hand, among SCs in Japan and Korea having both jobs and participating in social activities, there is a large gender difference (the difference between females and males for the two countries: 19.6 percent, 15.5 percent, respectively), but there is almost no difference on this score among males and females in the United States, U.K., and Sweden. However, in all countries, as SCs grow older, there is a steady decline in both the job holders and nonjobholders' social and community work. In Japan, SCs social participation without jobs, however, start to increase in their late sixties and this tendency continues until their late seventies.

## Sponsor of Social Work

Who was the sponsor(s) of your social work? The following list of sponsors was given to SCs: (1) public bodies such as community centers run by local public bodies—museums; (2) town councils or other autonomous bodies; (3) religious bodies; (4) voluntary bodies; (5) private sectors such as business firms; (6) on my own; (7) other; and (8) I don't know.

For Korean and Japanese SCs, town councils and autonomous bodies are their primary sponsors of activities, whereas, their American, German, and Swedish counterparts indicated that the primary sponsors were themselves (on their own). However, for Americans, public bodies were equally frequently reported as their sponsors.

The male SCs from Japan, Korea, and Germany tend to engage in activities sponsored by public bodies than their female counterparts. The rate of self-sponsored activities is higher among

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female Korean and U.S. citizens than among their male citizens, but this tendency is reversed in the U.K.

## Previous ET and Social Participation

In Japan, Korea, the U.K., and Sweden, the more ET they have, the more active they are in voluntary social activities. For those SCs in the United States and the U.K. with more than 13 years of ET, the participation rate in self-sponsored volunteer activities decreases.

## Perceived Impact of Social Participation

SCs were also asked about their opinions on the impact of their social participation. There were three main levels: local and society level; level of family members and friends; and at the level of themselves.

In all countries, the impact at the local and society levels was the most frequent answer among SCs. But the Swedish and American SCs also reported a relatively high rate of impact at the individual level. Only 15 percent of Koreans and Japanese reported the impact of the level of their family members and friends, where as the rate of endorsement on this item among other countries ranged between 50 percent to 80 percent?

A gender difference was observed. Except in the United States, male SCs reported more the impact at the local and society levels than female SCs. The impact on themselves was selected more frequently by female SCs in most of the countries.

To summarize the following factors seem to be associated with active participation of senior citizens in volunteer activities: SCs with moderate amount of free time; SCs' who are healthy, socially interested, and open to change; SCs with active neighbor relations; SCs active learning participation; SCs who are married; SCs with longer ET; male SCs than female SCs; and SCs with jobs.

Finally, there are interesting cultural differences in the attitudes of social and community work between Japanese SCs and those from European and American counterparts. The Japanese SCs' indicated less preference for less individualized modes of activities and less individually initiated social work. The authors of the ICLSE report argues that the motive for social participation is more externally driven (e.g., importance of volunteer work) than individually driven (e.g., useful activities for SCs themselves). The ICLSE report defined the Japanese volunteer work as a "social service-oriented" model and its Western model as "self actualization" model. The focus of control of one's learning and social participation will probably occupy one of the priority concerns in the years to come in Japan.

## SCs' Opinion on the Support System for Learning

In Japan in December 1995, the Fundamental Law for the Aging Society came into effect, followed by the publication of the General Principles for the Aging Society. A few European countries have now also legislation which supports the provision of adult education (Norton 1992).

## *Who Should Be Responsible for the Learning Activities of SCs?*

There were five response alternatives: (1) governments (national and local); (2) private sectors; (3) partnership between government and private sectors; (4) volunteer service of senior citizens; and (5) don't know.

Thirty-six point five percent of Japanese SCs asserted that learning should be their own responsibility (volunteer service), followed by the partnership formula by the government and private sectors (24.8 percent). In the United States, and Sweden, the partnership is the most preferred option (35.3 percent and 44.5 percent, respectively). The first choices of Korean and U.K. citizens was governmental responsibility (34 percent for both countries).

There is a general tendency among SCs of all countries who endorse the partnership scheme between the government and private sectors more than among those SCs who do not participate in learning at all in all countries. The Japanese active participants in learning who supported it significantly higher (the difference is 13 percent). Twenty-four point five percent of Japanese non-participants of learning gave "don't know answer."

In their late seventies, the U.K. SCs' preference for governmental responsibility increases (41.8 percent) for the support of their learning. In all countries as SCs grow older. Particularly in their seventies, the reply "don't know" increases.

In Japan, SCs with more than 13 years of ET choose most frequently volunteer service as their first choice. In the U.K., as SCs grow older, the opinion of the government as sole responsible body for learning decreases and the idea of partnership increase. For the U.S., SCs with less than six years of schooling, their best choice is governmental responsibility (55.6 percent).

## *What Do SCs Expect from the Support System (Priority Concerns)?*

There were ten alternatives for this question: (1) availability of training programs and lectures; (2) easy access to information and to counseling; (3) availability of insurance for injury and damage of properties; (4) good transport and easy access to facilities; (5) social recognition of the results of activities; (6) financial aid to cover minimum expenses; (7) financial aid to the activity circles and bodies; (8) cooperative participation among the members of activity groups; (9) others; and (10) don't know.

The top two choices of each country were as follows:

- Japan: cooperative participation; and easy access to information and to counseling;
- Korea: good transport; and financial aid to the activity circles and bodies;
- Germany: good transport and easy access to facilities; and social recognition of the results of activities;
- Sweden: easy access to information and to counseling; and cooperative participation;

- United States: good transport facilities; and availability of training programs and lectures; and
- U.K.: easy access to information; and good transport to facilities.

The results indicate that good transport and easy access to information and facilities are crucial factors determining the level of participation of SCs in learning.

In Sweden and Japan, the longer SCs previous ET, the more they endorse such items as: the availability of programs, easy access to information and co-operative participation. Extremely high among American SCs (75 percent) with less than 6 years of schooling is "good transport" as their first choice.

## SCs' Opinions on the Support Systems of Social Activities

A question was raised: Who do you think should be responsible for promoting the social participation of senior citizens at the local and societal levels? In Japan, the United States, Germany, two major replies—partnership or volunteer service—equally divided the opinions of SCs. Swedish endorsed more strongly partnership approach rather than social participation being initiated by SCs themselves (52.7 percent vs. 17.4 percent). In Japan, U.K. and Sweden, in their seventies, the choice of partnership decreases and the choice of the government's responsibility tends to increase.

In most countries with longer periods of previous education and training, the rate of endorsing partnership option increases. In Korea, the United States, and Sweden, the choice of governmental responsibility decreases.

In all countries, the partnership option is endorsed more by SCs who are active in social participation than those who are not. On the contrary, in Korea, the United States, and U.K., the governmental option is more endorsed by nonsocial participants than by participants.

In summary, according to ICLSE study, individual volunteer service, government, and private organizations are main bodies responsible for the provision and support for the learning of SCs. Partnership is more strongly supported by those active participants of learning than those nonparticipants. In the United States SCs with less than 6 years of ET indicated a strong preference for governmental responsibility. Accessibility to facilities and information and to guidance services, good transportation means, are crucial factors affecting the participation of SCs in learning activities.

In the sphere of social participation of SCs in social activities, the availability and accessibility to information and service facilities are important factors substantially affecting SCs social activities. Partnership between the government and private sector is a preferred approach to advance social participation, and the support for this approach increases with longer previous ET. In some countries, as SCs grow older (in their seventies), the governmental option increases. A healthy and more active citizen with good neighbor relations and family members are socially active.

# Current Programs and Strategies for Active Aging

These programs can be described from four main angles:

1. Networking and information databank;
2. Use of existing infrastructure and opportunities;
3. Interactive intergenerational education and training; and
4. Partnership approach to promote active aging.

## Networking and Information Data Banks: From Awareness to Action

The ICLSE demonstrated that active aging is a liable and beneficial option in Japan. Active aging helps older people to enjoy life activities in general, better health, a greater degree of well being, and psychological satisfaction. Above all, active citizenship benefits all age groups in society and makes significant contributions to the society, economically, and socially.

Lifelong education is well understood and rooted idea in Japan. Thanks to the concerted campaign over the last 2 decades by the government, researchers, institutes, voluntary workers and various lifelong and adult learning bodies, active aging scheme is also capturing the mind of Japanese people. However, the strategies of how to conceptualize and contextualize active aging in the framework of lifelong education must be further clarified and developed. Information development and dissemination to SCs on this topic as well as to all age groups is an important step to understand this theme.

Active aging campaigns are now facing a new challenge, the one which is moving from basically an awareness-building stage to collection and dissemination of a more usable information gathering, in order to empower SCs with all the necessary skills—professional, social, health, and technology.

One of the most successful ongoing networking projects is so called "Volunteer data bank for lifelong learning," supported by the Ministry of Education within the framework of its support program for the promotion of volunteer activities for lifelong learning. Education and training activities for the elderly in Japan often build in various volunteer projects.

The volunteer bank, intended for mutual information support among SCs and the concerned bodies and individuals, is used to disseminate the registered names of SCs volunteers and bodies, information on coordination centers, and information on the sponsors and organizations, which provides learning activities and voluntary social and community work for SCs. The networks created by volunteer data banks can also have a role of the social network for SCs. The NIER's ISPPD report points out the tendency of Japanese SCs increasing need for affiliation with others, and, in fact, the social network can meet such a need. This is one of the reasons for the importance of training programs in computerization for SCs because the computer (e.g., how to use Internet) is a useful means not only for obtaining information in general, but also for strengthening social connections, encounters, and interaction of SCs', which can go beyond local, regional, and national boundaries.

The lifelong education research team at the National Institute for Educational Research (NIER), headed by Yamamoto, upon review of users opinion on the data bank, reported the following future tasks in order to improve the project (1997):

- need for more publicity;
- need to stimulate local needs and to develop a wider range of data bank users;
- need for more courses, programs, and activities sponsored by public bodies;
- reinforced training for the registered volunteers;
- need for a more selective registration of volunteers in order to obtain good quality volunteers and users;
- more information production designed to stimulate autonomous activities of volunteers; and
- schools should be more encouraged to use locally registered volunteers.

Finally the Yamamoto team endorses the need for the networking of volunteer center at different sectors which currently spread out in prefectural and municipal boards of education, various social welfare centers, public community halls, universities, and enterprises. This is one of the future priorities of the information activities to promote active aging in Japan.

## Use of Existing Infrastructure and Opportunities

The existing schools, universities, learning centers, and conference rooms of companies are offered for the education and training for the elderly learners, and the number of such facilities is steadily increasing. The courses are offered for SCs in school classrooms and higher education extension courses are provided to the elderly as universities are willing to agree with increased enrolment quota for elderly students. There have been some key factors which determine the degree of participation of SCs in university extension courses: flexible attendance hours (part-time, and night courses); modest tuition; easily available transport; the availability of correspondence courses; easy access to the facilities; understanding teaching staff; availability of quality information and guidance service to meet the needs of the elderly; and availability of interesting and relevant programs to SCs. The community resources and infrastructures are used for the education and training of SCs.

Local experts and specialists are participating in it. The Community Learning Centers (Kominkan), run by the municipal education authorities and supported by the national/prefectural education authorities is the largest. Seventeen thousand Kominkans are established in all municipalities and attended by 7.5 million people per year covering more than 50 percent of all public education supplies in Japan (Okamoto, 1997). There are also other centers run by NGOs, enterprises, foundations, clubs, and cultural centers.

The use of and cooperation with existing infrastructure and opportunities to promote learning and social participation is economically advantageous in view of mobilizing local resources. Another advantage of creative and flexible use of existing infrastructures and resources is the partnership it can create among the formal education sector, nonformal education sector (Shakai Kkyoiku), and private and public sectors. It is a means to promote various local and regional cooperative programs to promote SCs' learning and social participation throughout the nation.

## Interactive Intergenerational Education and Training

One of the growing ideas in Japan about the education and training of SCs is reflected in the programs designed to promote intergenerational relationships. We are witnessing millions of SCs volunteer tutors working in public schools in the United States and similar other innovations from other countries seem to convince us that older people and young people can effectively interact with each other.

One of the most successful innovations receiving considerable attention from the public is an interactive intergenerational method of learning and teaching which was originally arranged by the Fukuoka Prefecture (south of Japan). The main scheme of "senior-citizen as a voluntary teacher" project is to have graduate degree holders of SCs teacher at elementary and junior high schools. During 1993–94, 75,000 SCs with a graduate university degree participated in the project as teachers. In this intergenerational program, the travel expenses are borne by the concerned. Prefectural bodies but teaching involves no remuneration. The majority of participating teachers are aged 60–80, but a few teachers in their eighties joined this project.

This project has been evaluated by the Yamamoto team (1997) to indicate the following advantages:

- SCs' enjoys teaching, interaction, and communication with younger generations;
- pupils enjoy learning with elderly teachers who possess expertise and life experiences;
- pupils from a nucleus family (without grandparents) can learn from the elderly experts;
- young teachers particularly profit from SCs' teachers' life and professional experiences, particularly from their knowledge on historical and cultural aspects of the local community; and
- utilization of local community human resources.

The Yamamoto team (1997), upon their extensive review of the "senior citizen as a voluntary teacher," suggested the following suggestions to future improvement of the project:

- improved coordination with the overall school curriculum and reinforced;
- efforts should be made with a view to enlightening teachers about lifelong learning, voluntary activities and the meaning of "open" schools; and

- methods of teaching and guidance by the elderly teachers to promote the pupil's self-direction and initiatives in learning activities.

There are a large number of institutions, community centers, and business enterprises that offer similar programs such as the ones offered in the University of Third Age in Europe and U.S..

"Volunteer Learners University" established in 1985 in Shimizu City (neighbor Prefecture of Tokyo) is an interesting innovation. The University lectures are given mostly in Public Community Halls (Kominkan). In this scheme, the volunteer professor makes a proposal pertaining to the course content and plans of teaching in general. Once the teaching proposal is approved by the University authorities, it is up to him/her to determine the teaching methods and learning experiences for SC learners. There is no age limit both for professors and students. The majority of the male students are in their sixties but there are more and more female students who are in their seventies. The majority of students are women. The male-female enrollment ratio is 1 to 4. Most of professors are in their sixties but the age range of professors vary between forties and eighties. The University received a Prime Minister's Award for its outstanding contribution as a volunteer higher learning institute. This University is popular because: it imposes no age limit; requires low tuition; learning is conducted at an individual pace, free class atmosphere; motivated volunteer teaching staff; and abundant opportunity to make friends.

The "Silver University" in Tochigi Prefecture, whose President is the Governor, offers courses on the society in general, hobby and family life, health, social welfare, local, and community work.

Utsunomiya City (near Tokyo) is actively engaged in supporting the learning activities of SCs. This city possesses a Social Welfare Center, a Lifelong Education Center offering courses for SCs, a Federation of Associations for the Elderly, a "Silver" Human Resource Development Center, and several cultural centers run by private business enterprises. The Municipal Boards of Education of Utsunomiya City is providing these educational and social activities for the elderly, and the free provision of the courses for SCs' is realized and efforts have been made to improve the facilities and equipment built-up for the elderly learner.

## Partnership to Promote Active Aging

This partnership is involving different levels and types of cooperation and role structures. Among public authorities, this process involves coordination and role distribution among the national education authorities, the schools, the prefectural education authorities and the municipal education authorities. There is an issue of cooperation and coordination between the public and private sectors working in the field of education and training for SCs.

As regards the coordination among different bodies of lifelong learning in municipalities (cities, towns, and villages), the NIER report by Yamamoto reveals that only 5.6 percent of the municipalities possess such coordinating mechanisms and 16.8 percent of them have future plans to establish. There is also interministerial coordination and cooperation. Each level of the public authorities forms partnership with the private sectors—private enterprises, private cultural centers, and associations and clubs. The report also stresses the great potential of NGOs and nonprofit organizations, particularly its role as agent to identify consumer needs of SCs (which is usually a low priority for industries) for the promotion of commercial products for SCs. The final report prepared by a team from NIER (Yamamoto) on their study on volunteer data banks can give the following concrete example of partnership between different levels of the public authorities.

The Ministry of Education provides funds to different Prefectural Boards of Education, coordinates their work through the project promotion committees and the establishment of main objectives and main line of work and strategies. The concrete activities carried out by the Prefectural Boards of Education under this partnership are: identification and registration of users of volunteers; volunteer bank establishment and dissemination of information and consultant service for voluntary activities and volunteers; development of the volunteer curriculum and its dissemination to the concerned bodies; training of volunteers; and establishment of volunteer centers for lifelong education.

Referring to the public-private sectors cooperation, the NIER's ISPPD report stresses the public sectors' financial and material support for the establishment of the infrastructure of education and training facilities, but the content and methods of learning and social participation should be largely left in the hands of adult education communities, associations, and industries and individual SCs. Strong "volunteerism" manifested as a motive of learning among Japanese SCs' reported in the ICLSE report can also be sustained through this approach.

Finally, there is the industry-education sectors cooperation. A most important issue relating to this type of cooperation is how to effectively identify needs of SCs consumers. The NIER report argues that marketing by business firms can be aided by lifelong education research, which can provide a broadly based consumer psychology of SCs. Research indicates, for example, that SCs choice of consumer goods is often influenced by the opinions of their family members. Business investment and production of consumer goods, hardware, and software for SCs is growing fast.

It is, in this sense, an advantage for industry sectors, if it is to satisfy a multiple-faceted need of senior citizen consumers—psychological, economic, social cultural, health, and sports, to form an alliance with the lifelong education and training sector.

Looking to the future, the ISPD report recommends: the need for strengthened partnership between the public authorities and individual volunteers and their bodies; the need for volunteer centers (currently the half of the Prefecture is equipped) and the coordinator for these centers; networking of voluntary centers; multifaceted assessment system of volunteer activities; volunteer insurance and remuneration for volunteer work; and promotion of volunteer activities at home, school, and local community and the linkage and networking between these agents.

## Conclusion

The seriously alarming pressure on government budget for pension benefits and medical costs must be taken seriously in adult education for senior citizens. To reduce this budget pressure, OECD (1998) proposed some measures in economic terms: prolonged retirement scheme (60 to 65); private-sector investment of the state pension funds; reduced pension benefits and reduced contributions; more private contributions from the income of the elderly and to their health and nursing care expenses; and increased birthrate through better provision of maternity leave, improved child care facilities.

Active aging scheme, in which individual differences and needs of SCs' are fully taken into consideration, is a major option for Japan. The ICLSE and ISPPD studies demonstrated some key factors to be taken into consideration in order for SCs' themselves and their partners to effectively support learning and social participation of individual citizens.

The following implications can be drawn, particularly in view of the current Japanese efforts to meet the learning requirement of SCs in the changing world:

- Education and training is an investment, which can help to reduce the budgetary pressure on pensions and medical care of the aging society. Education and training (ET) for SCs' involves ET for all about senior citizenship among SCs themselves, all generations, and all partners (government, NCIOs, Community Centers, the general public);
- ET for SCs' in Japan needs to be built in their philosophy and practices of lifelong education, which is a major guiding principle of Japanese education: ET about and for senior citizenship can start early in life as an integral part of the human developmental scheme of learning and teaching;
- ET for senior citizenship needs to be focused on the unique need and empowerment of the individual learner: each senior citizen is unique and may aspire to different needs, and when each senior citizen feels empowered with self-efficacy, self-direction, and self-control, ET for SCs' become an effective course of action. The policies, support systems and other helping efforts of partners for active senior citizenship can be geared towards satisfying the individual needs of SCs;
- SCs' and younger generations need more opportunities to learn about the importance of self-management of free time with and without employment: techniques of how to use and apply multimedia technologies to the benefit of their life, work, leisure, and social activities. Developing learning and social networks with the aid of such technologies opens up unlimited horizons of their life;
- While meaningful and enriching partnerships between women and men are essential ingredients of active aging, gender disparities in learning and social participation of SCs can be narrowed, particularly by encouraging more the participation of female SCs in higher level of education, employment, professional training, and health management.
- The childcare facilities should be improved and other institutional obstacles can be removed to make both female and male SCs' learning and social participation easier and more accessible;
- ET about and for health is an important priority concern for active aging. Self-directed ET for health care starts early in life and can be sustained throughout life. People are more and more convinced by the idea that active learning and social participation do improve our health, which, in turn, make possible more active learning and social participation of SCs;

- Effective and flexible partnership and resource mobilization efforts among different individuals, bodies of SCs, different public bodies and ministries, between national and local bodies—is a key to promote acting aging scheme of the society and any assessment attempts of such partnership and coordination must be learner focused; and

- Current practices and innovations designed to promote intergenerational interactive communication and cooperation, pleasurable and mutually beneficial intercommunity programs, curricula, and learning opportunities, are key ET issues for active senior citizenship.

Finally, international comparative studies, exchange, and dissemination of information is a useful means to promote, stimulate, and review innovations and practices of senior citizenship of one's country from a global perspective.

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## Annex I

1. The survey "International Comparison of Learning and Social Participation by the Elderly" (ICLSE) commissioned by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture and was conducted during 1995–1997 in Germany, Japan, Korea, Sweden, U.K., U.S.. The project interviewed individuals (age group: 60-79, N=approximately 1,000 in each country) and also surveyed the public bodies responsible for education and training for SCs in the following cities responsible for public policies and facilities for education and training for the elderly.

- Germany: Frankfurt
- Japan: Utsunomiya city
- Korea: Seoul City
- Sweden: Stockholm
- U.K.: Leicester County
- U.S.: Phoenix

2. Sampling, interviews, and data analysis were conducted by:

- Germany: MARPLAN
- Japan: New Information Center Co., Ltd. (Shin Joho Center)
- Korea: Korea Survey (Gallop) Polls Ltd.
- Sweden: SIFO Research AB
- U.K.: BMRB International
- U.S.: Kane, Parsons, & Associates, Inc.

3. The report "Integrated Study on Policy and Program Development for Lifelong Learning in the Aging Society" (ISPPD) was based upon a survey conducted during 1994–1996, commissioned by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture by the lifelong education group of National Institute for Educational Research of Japan (NIER-Chief Researcher Yoshihiro Yamamoto). This research employed interviews with the elderly, individuals, and bodies responsible for education and training for the aged, systematic review of statistical data on aging, policy, and project review both in Japan and a selected number of foreign countries, expert meetings.

# Lifelong Learning for All: What Can Be Done to Promote Lifelong Learning?

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## Problems with the Participation of Older Adults in Further Education

### Abstinence of Older Adults from Further Education

It is a well-known international experience that people at an advanced age—about 55 to 60 and over, and then especially from the age of 65 onwards—take much less advantage of further education offers than do younger people. (2, 81, 106, 108)

In Germany, people aged 65 or over (about 15 percent of the total population) account for only about 6 percent of the participants in further education programs, even in those with a more general orientation and in the "Volkshochschulen," the adult education center, which are the organizations most frequented in comparison by older adults. Here, the senior citizens most often choose courses on local history and regional studies (20.8 percent), arts (1.8 percent) or history (13.5 percent). (20)

People of an advanced age avoid most strikingly targeted learning courses that require active involvement and are aimed at improving and measuring the learners' performance. This can be seen even in language courses, which adult education centers often provide especially to elderly people, who are rather fond of traveling abroad: 32 percent of the courses provided by adult education centers to older adults are language courses, but only 5, 8 percent of the participants in these courses are older adults. (20)

This reticence may be found as well with regard to computer training courses. In Germany, people over the age of 60 account for just 1- percent of the participants. (1, 71)

### Aggravation of General Attendance Problems Caused by Old Age

Beyond all differences in terms of biography, educational background or sex, the notion largely applies that most difficulties of general nature with further education intensify in old age.

It is a known fact that people who express their interest in certain topics do not necessarily attend corresponding further education courses. This is especially true for elderly people. Health and "keeping fit" range uppermost among the interests of most senior citizens (42, p. 28–29) but only 6.8 percent of the participants in health education courses provided by adult education centers are older adults. (20)

It is also a known fact that participation in further education mostly depends on a successful educational background. This, too, applies especially to the elderly people. (52, p. 37–38)

Most people from the large group of adults not taking part in further education programs—in Germany about 58 percent of the adult population, (33 p. 23) would feel uncomfortable with the idea of attending school-like lessons in educational programs which causes in them unpleasant reminiscences of their own schooldays—pressure to do well, examinations, class tests, fears of failure, or looking foolish. Mature adults are not likely to expose themselves again voluntarily to such troubles.

In the elderly, this school frustration blockage plays an even more determining role: Their readiness to attend an educational course decreases with a marked school-like nature of this course. It increases if the course content may be related to practical contexts of real life. (54 p. 138)

## The Intensified Impact of Individualization

Another factor of increasing importance in old age is the individualization of life and learning. (36, 52, p. 23–27) Growing older, people increasingly follow their own way, away from others. (29) That is why older people have difficulty in adapting themselves to rigid curricula and learning forms.

Learning in elderly people is, by its very nature, not aimed at collecting supplies of knowledge for the future. They usually wish to learn things that appear relevant to them at the present time—for example in a situation that requires their action or in a crisis. (52, p.145) Further education programs mostly do not provide for this in a sufficiently direct and specific manner. Instead of accepting the detour of systematically structured long-term courses, older adults therefore often prefer other forms of learning, as being more helpful and purposive. This could be, for example, open exchange of experience, an opportunity of self-directed communication with other people having the same questions and problems, and with experts in the matter. (42, p. 64–66, 91) This means: individual counseling becomes more important to older learners than general information, and the telephone becomes the most important connection with the world outside. (42, p. 74)

## Men Staying Away from Further Education

Elderly people taking part in further education programs are mostly women. In further education courses for elderly people the percentage of women is between 80 percent and 90 percent, whereas elderly men are almost not reached at all. (7,54, p. 139)

This has to do with the stronger orientation of men towards vocational training and continuing education, improvement of careers prospects, chances of being promoted, and social recognition. Viewed from this perspective, a more generally orientated further education after ones working life is "pointless." After leaving the job most men will lack opportunities to make use of their professional know-how and skills on which their male self-image is largely based. The more specialized one's professional know-how is, the more difficult it will be to constantly continue to learn on the basis of the prior professional background.

Leaving the job means a break in one's orientation towards life and learning. In any case it means a decisive change in roles, which usually proves harder to men than women. "Lifelong learning," then, does not just mean a lifelong continuation of learning, but has to cope with difficult biographical changes. (54, p. 79–80, 97) Further education after leaving the job mostly requires the development of new approaches, interests, and skills. This often represents an obstacle difficult to overcome.

Also, men usually fear dependency and compulsion to prove themselves in further education more strongly than women do.

The chance provided by further education courses, to establish new social contact appeals, seemingly, more to elderly women than men who rather have a tendency to retire into themselves or the intimacy of a club. (42, p. 75)

## Special Fears of Elderly People

With advancing age people feel more unsure about their own ability to keep pace with the learner group and more afraid of appearing dense and senile. Elderly people therefore are often deterred by performance comparison with the young—not least because they cannot elude the impact of societal deficit attributions. (42, p. 64–66, 82, p. 62)

Other determining reasons for elderly people's abstinence from further education include a latent fear of dependence and incapacitation. The wish to maintain one's own freedom of decisionmaking, autonomy, and independence (42, p. 35) causes a particular sensitivity to any form of spoon-feeding or incapacitation, heteronym, and extrinsic control in their own further education process. (52, p. 145) They wish to take advantage of their " late freedom" (91) after the retirement and maintain it to the greatest possible extent. This is why they object to live or learn according to instructions of others if there is no necessity. (42, p. 40) This is also why they try to avoid being placed into a compulsory learning situation—or similarly, in an old people's home.

As a consequence, elderly people have a marked predilection for lectures or open discussion groups—in contrast to compulsory courses—when taking part in organized forms of further education.

In this context, the form of the traditional lecture is one of the reasons—alongside the higher standards and prestige of universities—for the popularity of "Seniors' Universities" or "Third Age Universities" with elderly people. (4, 16, 37, 95, 100)

## The "Natural" Learning of Older Adults

We see that the lesser participation of older adults in further education is not due to a lack of interest. It does not mean either that elderly people are no longer willing or able to learn. In actual fact, elderly people use different, more self-determined and open learning forms.

Eighty percent of elderly people learn regularly by means of reading, travelling, films, television, or magazines, but only 10 percent of them attend further education courses. (52, p. 17, 99)

Thus, a research project on education for older adults, carried out between 1991–94 in Germany, could come to the conclusion: "It is an important finding that elderly people have by no means stopped learning in old age, although a vast majority of them are keeping away from institutional educational offers." (54, p. 138)

## Language and Environmental Barriers

Elderly people coming from educationally or linguistically deprived backgrounds have particular difficulties in coping with the elaborated forms of communication and language that characterize most of the further educational programs.

For persons coming from a different linguistic background, this middle-class language represents a serious obstacle to participation in educational programs that are mostly based on verbal communication. That is why this group tends to restrict itself to informal learning, which bears more relation to practical situations and phenomena of everyday life.

Persons from educationally deprived backgrounds also have to reckon with their social environment disapproving of any apparent stepping out of line towards "higher" educational realms. This entails social pressure to prove oneself and corresponding fears of failure and identity crises. All that may be largely avoided by concentrating on informal learning forms, which are closely related to everyday life. (10)

## Little Consideration being given to Personal Experience

As learning in elderly people is very much characterized by their prior experience, the connection of this experience to the new learning demands represents a fundamental learning prerequisite for them. (14, 28, p. 39–43, 105)

Such connection proves difficult to realize in the context of specialized and systematically structured courses. As most of one's own experience has derived from practical life, real events, encounters, and situations of crisis, it is difficult to connect to a type of learning that is not based on real experience and situations, but on concrete examples taken from the learner's world.

Later on, however, a form of learning that is more strongly related to situations and experience (14, 28) must be accompanied by reflective processing. And this step towards the recognition of conditions, rules and contexts, their condensation into concepts and the approach to a more elaborated and abstract formal language is a particular critical one in the learning process of older adults.

## External Barriers to Participation

External barriers, too, contribute considerably to the low participation rate of older people in institutional further education programs.

It is obvious that high course fees may represent a major hindrance to participation, especially to old-age pensioners. This is one of the general obstacles to learning that become aggravated in old age. Others include lack of transport, solitary, and badly lit footpaths, bad weather, and cramped and uncomfortable rooms.

Equally important are the obstacles specifically caused by old age. Elderly people often have poor sight and hearing, which means that small prints and speaking in a low voice hinder them in taking up the information.

Furthermore, elderly people are usually less mobile. They do not like going out in the evening when their energy starts falling off. Arduous climbing of stairs, draught, and fear of infections, while their immune systems are loosing their robustness, cause older people to prefer less troublesome learning opportunities within their own four walls such as self-learning with the aid of written instructions and a telephone advice service. (60, p. 319)

Elderly people, however, lack the particular learning forms, independent of time and place, that have been developed for an ad-hoc self-learning with support from the distance. These were partly designed within the framework of external studies and learning with the new media (21) and they are tailored to suit systematically organized long-term programs rather than the elderly's studying at home.

# Distinguishing Features of the Learning Process in Older People and Didactic Consequences

## Basic Understanding of Human Learning

Basically, we understand by "learning" the procedures of mental processing (understanding, organizing, and interpreting) of impressions and experiences, and the constructive development of coherent knowledge and dispositions to responsible behavior.

This conception of learning represents a model, which is largely independent of factors such as age, sex, or biographical background. The single learning processes, however, which are implied by this model, may differ considerably, according to framework conditions, the learners' qualifications and interests, or the individual situations.

## Decreasing Learning Ability in Old Age?

There is a broad academic consensus—in Germany and at the international level—on the view that decline in physical strength with advancing age is not necessarily combined with a parallel decline in mental and learning ability of elderly people. (29) Age represents one factor among others (such as educational background, stimulating environment, health, and foremost, the individual life history) determining the learning ability of elderly people. (8, 41, 68, 69, 70, 96) (82, p. 52–53)

During the past 30 years intelligence research, in particular, has brought about more differentiated concepts of the development of mental ability. The "Konstrukt" (constructed term) " intelligence" is increasingly used to define the totality of abilities needed for information processing and intellectual mastery of one's tasks in life. These abilities include, for example, the construction of meaningfully coherent knowledge obtained from single disparate impressions, the recognition of patterns and rules, the forming of concepts and "Superzeichen" (supersigns, generic terms), translation and transfer ability, open-mindedness and readiness for changes, and creative interpretation and innovation. (82)

We know today that the various intelligence factors are determined by individual experience and educational background, by society's expectations and self-images of elderly people rather than biological age itself. (82, p. 36–50)

Although biological age no doubt affects intelligence, its impact varies considerably in nature, enhancing some abilities whilst inhibiting others. Therefore, it would be better to speak of alterations rather than decline caused by old age within the intelligence structures. At the same time as short-term memory and pace of learning may decline, expressiveness, accuracy, and discernment may grow with advancing age. (29)

It is possible to further the development of learning ability in older adults through training and lifelong learning.

Here is a main reason for elderly people to continue with learning. The desire to maintain one's potential and keep mentally fit ranks high among motives for older adults to engage in further education activities. (48, p. 49) Keeping fit by learning means, especially, to keep reinterpreting prior experience in the light of new experience.

## The Impact of Negative Cliches of Elderly People

Although the theory concerning an overall decline in intelligence and learning ability in old age is no longer tenable and therefore cannot account for the low participation of older adults in further education programs, (35, 38) negative stereotypes of "old people" being mentally inflexible continue to exert a strong influence in society. (42, p. 64–65). Prejudices concerning the rigidity, denseness, conservative attitudes, and closed-mindedness towards new ideas and developments in old age continue to represent widely held views on elderly people. Sometimes they will lead to a stigmatization of older adults as "Gruftis" (after the German word "Grufi" = vault). (49)

As these extrinsic attributions may partly turn into self-attributions, they affect not only public funding of further education programs for senior citizens but also self-assessment and self-confidence in older adults. (112)

Thus, information on a large scale about the latest findings of gerontology proves to be of vital importance for the endeavors to mobilize education for older adults in the era of lifelong learning. (109)

## Reduced Pace of Learning in Old Age?

It is a commonly held view that people learn more slowly with advancing age. This is only partly confirmed by empirical studies. (70, 82, p. 56)

Most older adults need more time for a learning processing of information and experience that do not fit into the existing, earlier developed imagination, and interpretation patterns. On the other hand, learning processes that may be integrated into familiar interpretation frameworks may develop more quickly in older adults than in younger people thanks to their greater routine.

These differences in the pace of learning are apparently related to the fact that older adults possess more relevant experience. With an increased volume and variety of already stored experiences and patterns, any new piece of information will be compared and related to an equally increased amount of insights, ideas, and interpretation patterns. For an adequate incorporation of the new information it may also be necessary to restructure the existing sedimentary knowledge, which is more extensive and complex than in younger people. And this may, of course, take more time if the new information appears to be not simply a variant on something already known or familiar. (29)

With a more extensive repertoire of experiential knowledge, processes of selection or retrieval of relevant information may also become more time consuming.

It may be necessary to allow more time to older people when confronting them with new information or innovative learning. If possible, options for classifying the new information and hints for recognition should be given, for example "advance organizers" according to Ausubel. (6.29, 82, p. 56, 89)

## Meaningful Learning

Further studies have shown that elderly people have greater difficulty in learning and retaining things, which are not meaningful and coherent (e.g., arbitrary sequences of numbers). (82, p. 57) This may, in part, account for their poorer performance in memory tests of this kind.

This means that in order to promote lifelong learning even in old age it will be necessary to concentrate on meaningful learning—rather than on meaningless memory training exercises—and to enable, facilitate, and support the ability to establish during the learning process connections with plausible contexts of ideas and needs.

And why should older adults learn things that make no sense to them?

## Experiential Learning

Elderly people (and different cohorts of them) have more and different experience related to historically different situations on which their learning is based. (54, p. 26–62)

Experiential schemes that have developed over a long period of time tend to become more fixed rather than change fundamentally (54, p. 27). With elderly people, it will thus be necessary to include a higher extent their individual experiential schemes into the learning process and, possibly, to break up and restructure them. (29)

If older adults are to be involved more intensively in continuous lifelong learning, it will be necessary to develop new approaches to better linking new information and experience to prior experience, which is still present in the memory (especially in the long-term memory). (59)

## Learning in View of Applicability

With advancing age, most people prefer to learn things that are directly applicable. They usually learn in order to improve their ability to deal with real problems and situations in their lives.

Very often they are also more impatient in this, wishing to satisfy their pressing needs directly, without having to make the detour of a systematic training course.

Elderly people—if one wishes to encourage them towards lifelong learning—must be given stronger stimuli and learning aids whose content should be related to real situations or problems. This means that corresponding modules must be developed to support a problem solving learning that is related more clearly to real situations, cases, and practical action. (13, 52, p. 145, 111)

## Individualized Learning

Due to the differences in the socialization process of individuals within their families, workplaces, and society, and the different ways in which individuals respond to these influences, people at an advanced age usually have developed in most diverse manners and are more different from one another than in their younger days.

In his comprehensive comparative analysis of international developments in adult education and education, Alan Knox comes to the conclusion that: "Diversity increases as people become older, therefore, program option should be greater," (i.e., "a great variety of educational opportunities should be available to be responsive to the older population." (60, p. 318–319)

As the overall trend towards individualization is reinforced in old age, learning and learning support has to be developed in individually different ways. That is to say, individual learning processes need a greater variety of learning opportunities and learning aids.

One possible consequence may be the so-called "contract-learning" which means learning according to individual contracts between the educational institution and the person interested in learning. (21, p. 76–83)

## Open, Life-Related Learning

A form of learning that is more clearly related to individual interests and backgrounds and also to practical applicability in real situations not only requires individual counseling, it is also necessary to develop more flexible and open learning opportunities, which may be stimulating and useful in different individual learning processes.

Traditional systems of teaching and learning are not usually open or flexible enough in this respect. In many countries, education for older adults therefore has now been opened to a greater variety of informal learning forms, a wider range of individual learning opportunities in situations with practical demands, including jointly practiced "learning by doing," and new forms of self-organized and self-directed learning, including jointly practiced open learning with the elderly exchanging their individual "know how" and "know how to know" with one another. (30, 54, p. 140, 60, p. 317)

## More Independent and Self-Directed Learning

One of the main reasons for elderly people not to take part in further education programs is their fear of being instructed and controlled like pupils, or being looked after overattentively.

A specific sensitivity to social tendencies to regard elderly people as deficient and incapacitated, and hence lavish care on them (42, p. 35, 40) deters older adults from participating in further education programs specifically designed for senior citizens. (54) "Avoidance of dependency" (60, p. 319) is a basic motive of older adults—in life as in learning.

On the other hand, many older adults feel unsure about the extent to which they are still mentally fit. This keeps them from attending general further educational courses. They fear comparison with the younger participants there and are afraid of looking foolish in front of younger people.

As a consequence, older adults prefer to attend, if ever, arrangements allowing for noncommittal listening and uncontrolled self-determined learning.

As it is impossible to properly support the completely different and specific learning processes in elderly people by means of organized and more or less standardized training programs that have been designed for larger groups of students. Education for the elderly will increasingly have to adapt itself to a new kind of learning, organized to a higher degree by the elderly themselves and taking place in open and varied learning situations.

Self-directed learning is arguably the most adequate response to individualization occurring in the field of lifelong learning. It has also the potential of developing a civic involvement in further education in front of authoritarian traditions. (30, 112)

## New Approaches in Educational Policy towards More Involvement of Older Adults in Lifelong Learning

### Improving Framework Conditions

To surmount external barriers to learning it will be necessary to provide at local level—apart from financial subsidies, not to be discussed here—more access opportunities to further education for older people. This may be done, for example, by improving public transports, in accordance with the hours of the lessons/lectures, arranging (private) transport services, or by means of increasing decentralization of educational facilities. (11)

Equally important is greater flexibility in scheduling so as to make offers better fit into the individually different time "blanks" of older adults interested in further education. ("Zeitfenster" for lifelong learning, 80.)

All this, however, would be insufficient if it is not accompanied by clearly laid out information on the totality of educational provision, qualification opportunities, and counseling services available at local level for citizens This should also include an integrated network of all formal and informal learning opportunities, expert supports, and hotlines. (28, p. 88)

To overcome mental barriers caused by reminiscences of school frustration, it is necessary to develop new and more appealing open forms of teaching and cooperating such as "learning offices," "learning-service-centers," "learning shops," "learning clubs," "learning cafes," "learning workshops," "learning paths," and "learning parks." (30)

The development and enhancement of informal learning opportunities in connection with real life, i.e., relating to most varied activities (work, travelling, shopping, and watching TV) appears to be especially important in this context. (30, p. 29–38)

### Developing Holistic Learning Opportunities Close to Life

All people continue to learn even in old age in as much as they take in new information, try to orient themselves in new situations, and adapt to changing demands. (58)

This natural but often unconscious learning that takes place throughout one's life practice may be exploited and further developed to form the basis and starting point for a permanently continued lifelong learning of adults, even of those elderly people who in the past did not participate in organized forms of further education. (34)

Developing learning opportunities, learning stimuli, and learning aids in the learner's environment seems to be the most effective way to further this natural and holistic learning. This brings about the concept of a "learning society," where everybody will encounter learning opportunities at any time and in almost any place and where educational institutions will join and support the more extensive network of manifold formal and informal learning opportunities, open counseling services, learning partnerships, and communication opportunities. (28, p. 61–73)

Why should senior citizens not become important supporters and frequent users of these new learning networks within the forthcoming learning society?

This "natural" learning in a stimulating environment basically means learning in situations that challenge people to learn. As a consequence, learning arrangements and aids referring to this kind of learning should concentrate on a situation-based learning. Instead of prefabricated knowledge, the learner will be confronted with realistic and challenging situations to deal with. In this context, it will be necessary to establish new connections between life and learning, work and learning, and working world and life, which enable elderly people to make use of their individual experience and competencies when coping with real situations or processing information. (31 p. 255, 56, 66)

The consequence will be a change in paradigms: from a teaching didactic towards an enabling didactic. (5)

## Learning in the Context of a New and More Open Service Society

The more learning has to unfold within the framework of real situations requiring action and is related to practical tasks of problem solving the more important it is that people remain active in old age, accept tasks, deal with social problems, and become committed as citizens.

This raises the question of the so-called "second labor market," such as, forms of work that are not connected to regular posts of gainful employment but are more open in character and involve casual services, such as helping other people in the house and garden, in the streets, on journeys, in case of illness, disability or isolation, looking after children, offering support in dealing with authorities, and mainly, in learning and continuing learning. This also opens new horizons for other "unemployed" people and for cross-age cooperation. (32, p. 53)

It is in new combinations of work and education, work and communication, work and experience, work and entertainment, work and neighborhood care, work and civic commitment, and work and involvement in district activities that learning opportunities and stimuli are to be found and further developed with the help of creative imagination. (3)

Learning occurs at any place in a modern learning society. It is only a question of discovering and exploiting it. The much quoted "Entgrenzung des Lernens" (opening the traditional borders of approved learning) may then become a key to overcoming learning abstinence, especially in the elderly.

## Developing A New Civic Commitment

In Germany, there are some interesting approaches towards a new civic commitment and its connection to lifelong learning. (7, 19, 43, 46, 47, 75, 84, 104) (47, p. 96–294)

In this field of civic self-organization, a large variety of activities unfold by far exceeding the traditional range of unpaid honorary occupations:

- guided tours (with different subject matters),
- learning shops "Wissensborsen" ("knowledge stock exchange," knowledge pool), "Erzahlcafes" ("story-telling café"),
- history workshops study tours,
- accompanying people in need of care on journeys,
- care for children, sick and old people,
- standing-in for people on holiday,
- working as a museum attendant,
- telephone answering,
- emergency services,
- information service on educational facilities,
- learner counseling,
- learning partnership agencies,
- expert support for self-learning,
- repair service on weekends and holidays,
- art and theatre groups,
- various clubs (music, sport, hobbies, and film),
- internet cafes and internet groups,
- private tuition for schoolchildren,
- political forums and citizens' initiatives at local level,
- women's houses,
- meeting points for senior citizens,
- self-help groups,
- health and ecological groups,
- local history societies,
- associations for the preservation of customs and tradition,
- senior citizens' expert service clubs for the elderly,
- building and maintenance of playgrounds and learning paths,
- contact agencies,
- counseling service for setting up business, and
- agencies for flat sharing and car-pooling. (54 II, p. 48–204, 63, p. 20)

With a view to promoting lifelong learning, it is crucially important that in each of these initiatives and activities, learning stimuli and opportunities will be developed for specific purposes. Learning is usually implied if the successful and qualified implementation of the various projects and services depends on a permanent acquisition of additional knowledge and skills. Here it is useful to arrange learning partnerships, which may often be done through exchange cooperatives whose members share their own specialized know how and competence with others and receive, in return, from them support and advice where needed.

The knowledge that is needed or acquired during these activities may then be exchanged, discussed and reflected in discussion groups meeting regularly and including both elderly and younger people.

Civic commitment of older adults may also bring changes to the "contract between the generations." It means that older people are not simply a burden to be carried by the younger generation. Rather, they take an active part in the solution of current problems and social tasks, bringing in their know-how and experience. The elderly may also be of help for younger people, as counselors, tutors, helping them with setting up business, or granting credits. (9, 43)

## Two Examples of Senior Citizens Network Models

Sylvia Kade, one of the leading German researchers into learning of the elderly, reports in this paragraph on two initiatives by elderly people in Frankfurt and Gottingen, which she values as interesting examples of an increasing range of similar activities in German towns.

### *"Seniorenbüro" (senior citizen's advice bureau) in Frankfurt (connected with the Institut fur Sozialarbeit): A job center for pensioners*

The initiative of the Seniorenburo goes back to a seminar held at the "University of the Third Age" in Frankfurt, investigating possibilities of action in old age. First, a survey was conducted among the elderly to explore their wants and attitudes towards social involvement. It was followed by inquiries about the demand for unpaid work with non-profit-making organizations. The findings prompted the Institute fir Sozialarbeit to participate in the nation-wide and state-financed implementation of "Senior Citizens' Advice Bureaus," a piloting series with exemplary character.

Some elderly persons, almost all of them unpaid, set up a "job center for pensioners" which acted as an intermediary between older providers of knowledge/know-how and competencies and demand for unpaid work within non-profit-making institutions: schools, homes, museums, libraries sent inquiries and numerous elderly persons were prepared to:

- teach German as a second language to children,
- conduct ecological guided tours through fruit plantations,
- work as a museum attendant,
- contribute as workmen to the renovation of nursery schools and homes for the aged,
- visit lonely old persons in nursing homes, and
- computerize school libraries.

These examples, among many others, show the extensive, yet largely unexploited potential of elderly people.

The emerging particular needs for further learning and training were met by new educational programs offered by the Institute.

Another facility provided by the Institute was a communication center ("Erzahlcafe") for elderly people where historical witnesses reported on their district, on dying professions ("the last fisherman on the river Main") or ways of living in past times. This met with great interest especially of younger people and, finally, the elderly presented their experience also to schools.

This concept was taken up by homes for the aged who arranged regularly afternoon meetings where the elderly evoked the past in their reports with varying topics such as "family chronicle," "our younger days," "our district." The guiding questions underlying these meetings were: "How did people live in other times and environments? How did they arrange their lives under different circumstances? By which means did they try to render their lives meaningful?"

Finally, elderly people and gerontologists met together at regular intervals in the "old people's forum" to discuss possibilities of making life easier in old age and to start new initiatives.

### *Freje Altenarbeit e. V. Göttingen: social center, flat-sharing for the elderly, "Zeitzeugenbörse (historical witness exchange)*

The project of Freie Altenarbeit developed from an initiative taken by old people's nurses, who in 1986 founded an association with 16 members with the aim of promoting the integration of mobile nursing services and open assistance for older people, and the further education of trainees in order to maintain and enhance autonomy in old age.

In 1989, the initiative founded with the support of the local government a mobile nursing service, connected since 1991 to a day care center, for improving regular provision for older people according to the aims of the association.

In cooperation with the University of Göttingen, the project "Living together, not lonely" was set up by a discussion group composed of students and elderly people. They were supported by the local government who gave at their disposal an Art Deco villa for rent free use over 10 years. Further subsidies came from the Land in support of the flat-sharing project for elderly people and the renovation of the villa.

The "Company of good will," a workmen initiative by elderly people from the Ruhr area, undertook the renovation of the villa, making it suitable to the needs of old people. At the same time, the villa became the new location of the association, and in 1993, 11 elderly women moved in, each into her own apartment. These women had abandoned the environment familiar to them to avoid isolation and try out new forms of social life together with others. In this, they were assisted by the younger members of the association.

In the year of "solidarity between the generations," the association started a Euro-pilot project under the title "Dialogue on nursing relations" with the aim of promoting exchange between people in need of care, and younger old people's nurses. During the course of this Europroject, mutual visits for evaluation were organized for the participating projects in Europe.

At the same time, "planning groups" were set up by the association with the task of bringing together old and young people, professionals and laymen, for a continual and structured development of educational concepts. These activities gave rise to another Europroject in 1996, promoting dialogue between the generations, between witnesses of past times and young people, and with the aid of the "story line" method.

This project focuses on "biography groups," "Erzahlcafes," and a "Zeitzeugenborse." For these activities, an additional training program for speakers/presenters has been developed.

## Next Steps

As there are initiatives like those in Frankfurt and Göttingen, also in many other towns in Germany, we begin now to collect information about relevant activities and experiences on a national level, to bring the engaged people together for exchange and learning from one another, and to build up broader "senior learning networks."

But as the problems of learning in the "third age" often are aggravations of general problems of adult learners, the endeavors to develop more adequate learning opportunities for the elderly are seen as part of a necessary general strategy to promote "lifelong learning for all" by furthering:

- more individualized and self-directed learning,
- more open learning independent of fixed times and places,
- more problem solving learning related to real situations and civic commitment,
- more modular structures of learning, software and retrieval systems, and
- the creative development of a "learning society" with a great variety of stimulating (formal and informal) learning opportunities.

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# The Culture of Adult Learning in Sweden

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## Background

The learning culture of a country is, of course, embedded in its wider social, cultural and economic history. By way of background, I will give you a few glimpses of these developments in Sweden, present the main actors and at the same time indicate the results in terms of the present organizational set-up.

There are three important strands in the development of adult education and training in Sweden: the popular movements and popular adult education; the active labor market policies and the tripartite responsibility for employment training; and education for adults at primary, secondary and tertiary level. Altogether, a fairly comprehensive system for adult education and training has evolved. However, it is only more recently that we in Sweden have started to think about it in terms of a system for lifelong learning. A process with investigations, experimentation, research and evaluation has started that might bring important changes to the system.

### Popular Movements and Popular Adult Education

At the end of the nineteenth century came the breakthrough in Sweden of popular movements such as the labor movement, the temperance movement and the Free Church movement. Their aims were political, social, and religious but these movements also had cultural and educational goals. They established first folk high schools and a little later study associations arranging both study circles and cultural events. Popular education should be "free and voluntary". Self-education and deliberation among equals belong to the pedagogical ideals of the popular movements. The goal was individual development as a human being and as a citizen, capable and prone to act together with fellow citizens.

In 1947 state subsidies to popular education were introduced and nowadays, popular adult education is to a very large extent financed by the Government. The subsidies are handled by the National Board of Adult Education, a non-governmental organization that is also responsible to the Government for the evaluation of popular education. In spite of public subsidies and professionalization popular education adheres to the principles of the popular movements as well as to new voluntary organizations. Behind the folk high schools and the study associations you will nowadays find political parties—from the left to the right—as well as county councils, different religious, environmental, feministic and other idealistic organizations. The strings attached to the public subsidies are of a general nature. Popular adult education should aim at fostering democratic values and is to stimulate the participation in education of disadvantaged groups with poor education, the disabled, immigrants and unemployed people. How this is done is up to the folk high schools and the study associations to determine—a hands off policy from the point of view of the Government. (Gustavsson etc. 1998, Rubensson 1997).

## Active Labor Market Policies and a Tri-partie Responsibility for Employment Training

As for the labor market, the social partners and the Government have been very active in developing the Swedish model and active labor market policies. The Saltsjobaden agreement from 1938 set the scene for cooperation rather than conflict between the social partners, and the understanding was that the unions and the employers should take care of the wage bargaining and the Government the legal framework for the labor market and the bargaining process. Over time the Government became more and more involved in both legislation and different types of Government funded active labor market policies. The latter came to be seen as a safety net for those who become unemployed during recessions or redundant due to structural changes. Relying on the active labor market policies, the trade unions can accept technical changes at a high speed.

Employment training became one of the means by which the public employment services can assist the unemployed or those risking unemployment. To start with— symptomatically—the acronym AMU denoted both the organization providing employment training and the employment training itself. Nowadays, the state owned AMU Company is one of several providers of employment training even though it has remained the biggest one. The public employment services also buy employment training from private and other public providers including the folk high schools and study associations.

Active labor market policies have been considered very important for a smoothly functioning labor market and the implementation of the "solidaristic" wage policy—normally defined as "equal pay for equal work." During the 1960s, it was sometimes redefined as "equal pay for work." In the 1980s, a new version "equal pay for equal value" was launched taking into account the fact that women and men often do not work in the same occupations.

Anyhow, for a country like Sweden with a compressed wage scale, a smoothly functioning labor market is necessary as large wage fluctuations are more or less excluded to signal shortages or oversupply of labor. Inflationary wage spirals due to competing unions along with wages remaining at their equilibrium levels overreactions and unnecessary social costs for adaptations might be avoided.

In the Swedish system, the employers are supposed to provide the employees with the specific training needed to perform the job. Employer sponsored training is to a large extent organized at the work place but employers also buy training from public and private providers. Some collective agreements contain explicit clauses regarding training at work. Teachers, for example, are on average entitled to 104 hours training each year. More and more collective agreements make at least some reference to skill development at work. A first step may be the recognition of the importance of learning at work. A second step can be to recommend a dialogue between employers and employees at local levels about individual skill development. A third step is to agree to workplace-based skill assessments, and skill development plans and follow-ups. A fourth step is to agree to quantitative targets for learning opportunities for workplaces or individuals at given workplaces.

The Educational Leave Act from 1974 provides all employees with a right to individual educational leave in any form of organized adult education. Almost all students are entitled to study assistance of some sort financed by the state. There is no special type of study assistance for those using Educational Leave. The educational needs of an individual determine what type of assistance the individual is entitled to (below).

## Education for Adults at Compulsory and Higher Levels

The discussions in Sweden about recurrent education in the 1960s resulted in the introduction in 1968 of Municipal Adult Education (Komvux). It offers adults an equivalent to the credit forms of youth education at compulsory and secondary level. The municipalities have a legal obligation to provide compulsory education to all adults lacking such an education and they are also supposed to meet the demands for secondary education. Nowadays all municipalities are engaged in Municipal Adult Education.

As with AMU, Komvux initially denoted both the municipal organizations providing Municipal Adult Education and the education itself. By now, the organizers of Municipal Adult Education use different types of providers (including the AMU Company, the folk high schools, the study associations and private providers) even though the municipal Komvux-units are still the most important ones.

Since 1991 the entire implementation of Municipal Adult Education is the responsibility of the municipalities. The Government sets up national goals and targets that are to be implemented at local level and evaluated both at local and national level. There are no longer any special state grants to the municipal activities. A new impetus has been given to Municipal Adult Education according to their results in a national scholastic aptitude test

Besides the long study programs Swedish universities and university colleges provide both short study programs and single courses. It is common for adults to participate in these regular offerings, in particular in the single courses. Approximately 30 percent of the students in nongraduate programs are over 30 years old. Around one third of the students older than 35 years are new students, (i.e., have not been studying at tertiary level earlier). The universities and university colleges are financed by the state and no fees are charged from the students.

As for public study support there are several different programs for adult students:

- study assistance (mainly for post-secondary education, not specific for adults);
- adult study assistance (mainly for Municipal Adult Education);
- adult study assistance for the unemployed (mainly for unemployed in Municipal Adult Education); and
- the special adult study assistance (a part of the new Adult Education Initiative).

These forms of assistance provide different levels of support, with the largest amounts provided as part of the Adult Education Initiative and for the unemployed and the least for regular students.

## Results in an International and Swedish Perspective

Now, let us turn to the next question, what results has the Swedish system of adult education and training achieved. Is Sweden good at adult learning? How can the results be explained? Why have they come about?

## The International Perspective

All aspects of adult education cannot be illustrated by means of international comparisons. Therefore, let me explore what non-traditional education means for formal education in the population.

As can be seen in table 1, in 1991 about 14 percent of the population had achieved their highest educational level through various forms of adult education. As another illustration it can be added that in 1997, 2.8 million Swedes (out of a population of about 9 million) participated in 340,000 study circles. More than 20 percent of the adult population participates in one or several study circles (Rubenson 1996).

The results from the IALS study illustrate some of the main features characterizing Swedish adult education:

- The high rate of participation (figure 1). In some cases Finland has been observed to have even higher rates of participation than Sweden.
- Increasing rather than decreasing rates of participation with age (figure 2).
- Small differences in rates of participation by literacy levels (figure 1) and by educational attainment ( figure 3)
- Small regional disparities can also be mentioned (Rubenson 1997).
- Also more women participating than men (Rubenson 1997).
- The high share of employer sponsored education and training in total adult education and training, both for the general population and the employed population as measured in the IALS study (figure 4).
- From other sources can be added the high rates of participation in employment training (table 2). During the period 1990–1995, high rates of participation were also more or less consistently observed in Norway, France, and Germany.

There are, of course, many aspects of adult education, training and learning that can't be analyzed by means of statistics—and for different reasons. Sometimes for sheer lack of comparable statistics. Sometimes because suitable statistical indicators have not been developed. One interesting aspect that is often missing in international statistics is the duration of education. As for employer sponsored training we have some indications that it is of rather short duration in Sweden (OECD 1996).

What are the results of adult education? There are many aspects:

- a well educated and competent population
- high participation, nationally and locally, in community affairs
- high rates of labor force participation
- high living standards, etc.

Let me once again use the IALS results to illustrate a few of these points:

- The level of functional literacy is high in Sweden -- on average and for example among low educated adults and blue-collar workers (figures 5a, b, c).
- The rate of labor force participation is high in Sweden (table 3).
- The community engagement is also high in Sweden (figure 6).
- Newspaper reading is very frequent in Sweden (figure 7).
- Living standards are high in Sweden even though they are not as high as they used to be comparing internationally. Judged by GDP per capita (using purchasing power parities) Sweden ranked number 16 in 1996 among the OECD countries (OECD, 1997d). The rate of unemployment is also at higher levels nowadays than the exceptionally low levels we used to have.

Of course, all the good results are not due to, or at least not exclusively, due to adult education and vice versa for the bad results. Before continuing that discussion let us look at the same results from a Swedish perspective.

## The Swedish Perspective

When the IALS result were presented in Sweden, Swedish media concentrated on presenting the shocking fact that 25 percent of the adult population was below level three which corresponds to the level that students are supposed to have acquired by the end of compulsory education (9 years in Sweden).

The share of the adult population lacking upper secondary education, the rate of participation of low-educated adults and disadvantaged groups in adult education and employment training are constantly discussed as being too low. Even though differences in rates of participation by functional literacy levels and educational attainment in general or at work are low by international standards (above) these differences are considered too large. There is a concern that these and other differences by social class have not disappeared (Rubenson, 1997; Rubenson & Xu 1997).

## Explanations—How and Why

How were the high rates of participation in adult education achieved? First hand explanations may be

- an ample supply;
- special recruitment measures channeled through the trade unions;
- popular adult education closely linked to popular movements (Rubenson, 1997);
- national targets for employment training, Municipal Adult Education and for state grants to popular adult education;
- focus on the individual, providing the individuals with a free choice in terms of education as well as sufficient financial aid to cover living costs; or
- the interest in employment sponsored training taken by trade unions.

At a more general level one may say that the tripartite commitment to economic development—by the Government, the unions and the employers—created a learning rich environment where literacy was practiced both in civil society and at work. A good circle was created with more opportunities to develop new skills and maintain old ones. Financially, adult education has not primarily been seen as an individual investment project. Most of the funding comes from the Government or the employers. The wage incentives are weak for the individuals.

The Swedish governments have been dominated by the social-democrats since 1932 except for the years 1976–82 and 1991–94. There has been a close link between the social-democratic governments and the trade unions, especially LO (the blue collar worker trade union). The social-democratic party and the LO stand behind the biggest study association, ABF, as well as many folk high schools. The Swedish social-democratic welfare state combined full employment, an internationally open and highly competitive economy. In this way, both distribution and efficiency goals were sought. As for attitudes toward learning they may be characterized as having been more positive towards popular education and employment training than towards academic education.

Now there are new challenges. We can learn more about the ways they are tackled by looking at recent initiatives in educational policy and the reactions to them.

# The Adult Education Initiative and Related Policy Programs

The most important adult educational program at present is the AEI—the Adult Education Initiative. I will present and discuss it below together with a few other related programs.

## The AEI

In 1996, the Swedish Parliament decided that a special 5-year program of adult education should be carried out beginning July 1, 1997. The first target group is the unemployed and those employees who lack or who have only partial upper secondary school education. The municipalities are responsible for carrying out most of this investment in adult education. They make up plans for training provision and apply for the special state grants that are awarded by the Government. The budget situation of the municipalities does not permit them to increase their outlays on education. Therefore, if educational investments are to expand now, and in an equitable way all over the country, the Government has to pay for them.

There are also special adult study grants for individuals participating in the program. The level of the study grants correspond to the unemployment benefits. They can be obtained for 12-month studies and are available for unemployed individual aged 22–55, qualifying for unemployment benefits and for employees on the same conditions, given that they have five years work experience and the employer replaces the individual by an unemployed person. Normal adult study assistance is available for studies lasting more than 1 year as well as for other adults participating in the program but they are available on less generous terms.

The municipalities are to choose the course organizers that meet the requirements of the target group as well as local conditions in the most efficient way. The municipalities are to consult with the social partners when drawing up their applications for state grants. The study places are to be provided by the municipalities on top of their "normal" provision of such study places.

An individual study and action plan has to be established for each individual participating in the program. To be able to motivate individuals with low formal education it is necessary that the education corresponds to their needs both as to subject areas and as to teaching methods.

Therefore, individual study plans are required and new teaching methods desirable. Competition and cooperation between different educational providers are also important in this respect. The municipalities are not supposed to automatically involve only Municipal Adult Education units as educational providers.

To promote the reform of adult education the municipalities are thus requested:

- to analyze the local labor market and to consult with the social partners and the public employment services when drawing up their applications for state grants;
- to make an inventory of the education and training needs of individuals. An individual study and action plan has to be established for each individual participating in the program;
- to choose the course organizers that meet the requirements of the target group and local conditions in the most efficient way;
- to develop new forms of information and outreach activities as well as new counseling methods and new techniques for assessment and recognition of prior learning;
- to develop new teaching methods including, for example, distance learning and different combinations of theoretical studies and practical applications; and
- to engage in local monitoring and evaluation.

Other parts of the program consist of grants for special study places at the folk high schools and for pilot projects of advanced vocational training for adults at post secondary level.

The Swedish government strives for both economic growth and social equality. Therefore, Sweden has to devote more resources to education and training than other countries. However, to meet the new educational needs of adults in a knowledge society, the organization and teaching methods of adult education have to be reformed. The program is, therefore, to serve as a stepping stone in that direction and at the same time to produce evidence as to further needs for reforms in adult education and training. Moreover, the AEI is an important part of the Government1s package of measures to halve open unemployment by the year 2000 (from currently around 7 percent to 4 percent).

## Reactions to the AEI

At the political level in the municipalities, the program has generally been enthusiastically accepted. And one thing is clear, the local governments are much more involved in planning their participation in this program than they have been in planning their normal educational activities. Since the decentralization of the responsibility for primary, secondary and adult education to the municipalities in 1991, the local government should be engaged in educational planning and evaluation but that involvement has been difficult to establish. It took some time until the majority of municipalities had a school plan and even in 1995 only around 10 percent had evaluated it in its entirety (Skolverket, 1995, 1997). The importance attached to the program by the local politicians has meant a lot for the general awareness of the importance of adult education and the status of adult education.

Another new aspect of this adult education program is, it's a direct link to the labor market. The municipalities have already expressed an interest of taking over more of the labor market policy from national bodies. Municipalities often have some general economic development plan and the adult education program linked to the school plan for the municipality and used as an instrument for development.

As part of their normal educational activities, the municipalities have been expected to engage in information, counseling, recruitment, outreach and validation activities. Judging from their attempts to reorganize, co-ordinate and develop these activities their, efforts in these fields must have been rather rudimentary or the challenges bigger or taken more seriously with the new program. These plans for reorganization are often linked to pre-existing bodies that under different labels—Infotechs, Infocenters, Knowledge centers, Educational centers etc.—have started to develop information, counseling and open house learning activities, to serve as a basis for distance learning and to provide introductory courses for the program. They will often also make the investigations as to the educational needs and interests of individuals and work out the required individual study plans. During preparatory courses, the individual will have time to orient himself or herself, not only as to why and what to study and how to finance the studies, but also as to study techniques and working methods. After the introductory course, the center may also be responsible for directing the individual to the "right" educational provider and for following up the study plan of the individual. In smaller municipalities the public employment services may function as a coordinating center.

The municipalities use different types of educational providers. The "external" educational organizers are expected to bring new impulses to the traditional municipal units. Fields mentioned in this respect are: organization of education, introductory and vocational courses and teaching methods. However, in many cases public providers will be spared competition in their core activities (theoretical upper secondary courses) and overall they remain the biggest providers of Municipal Adult Education.

This new setting is a challenge to popular education. On the one hand there are those who argue that the competition for this type of credit oriented education can not be combined with the educational and quality ideals of popular education. Others argue that if the Government wants the folk high schools and study associations to participate in the AEI it should allocate more resources directly to the National Board of Adult Education. Still others argue the satisfying partnerships can be established with the municipalities within present frameworks. But this feeling of somehow being sidestepped is not only characteristic organizers of popular education but also to some extent the organizers of traditional Municipal Adult Education units.

Distance learning is developing in many municipalities. Some municipalities have created local study centers with modern ICT equipment in different places in the municipality. They might be used as a basis for studies at different educational levels—primary, secondary, and higher education.

The AEI project manager normally directs monitoring and evaluation. The educational providers are supposed to make their own follow-up studies and evaluations. The public schools are already obliged to do so and the educational providers will, to the extent they are used, be required to do so. The feedback from this more pedagogically oriented follow-up to municipal evaluation and planning seems more problematic and less developed.

## Related Policy Programs

It is worth mentioning that at secondary level all programs young people now follow at upper secondary level have a duration of 3 years (including the vocationally oriented programs). All students carrying through these programs will be eligible for higher education. Earlier the vocationally oriented programs lasted for two years and many adults on the labor market do not even have a basic education at upper secondary level of 2 years.

As for higher education, an expansion of study places has started and is to continue according to present plans to the year 2000. For the moment there is tough competition to enter higher education.

The KY-program for advanced vocational training at post secondary level was actually launched before the AEI but is now financed under the same umbrella as the AEI. The courses belonging to the KY-program are planned and arranged as a partnership between educational providers and employers. Normally they last for 2 years and one third of the time is supposed to be spent at a work place.

## Present Discussions—Evaluation and Further Reform

On the one hand there is youth education that in this case covers all education of young people including universities. This education is extremely important as it paves the way for lifelong learning.

On the other hand there is lifelong learning after initial youth education. Most young people after initial education enter the labor market where learning at work begins. Also, outside work and for those who do not belong to the labor force there are normally ample opportunities to participate in adult education.

However, there are individuals who for different reasons cannot and do not participate in lifelong learning neither at work nor outside of work. One reason for this may be a lack of basic education. Therefore compensatory education for adults is necessary.

Education and training is not only a matter of the existing number of training slots. The infrastructure includes all the mechanisms that make the system work more efficiently. Examples from the perspective of the individuals are information and guidance, outreach activities, study finance and assessment and recognition of prior learning. The provision of education and training prerequisites for a qualitatively well functioning system are flexible suppliers, quality certification of suppliers, purchasing competence among buyers of education and training, distance learning facilities, teaching material for distance learning, human resource accounting in public as well as private enterprises, pedagogical research and development, teacher training, evaluation of educational outcomes, efficient systems for financing and market regulations. In many of these instances the proper role of the Government could be R&D support (SOU 1996:27).

- The AEI program contributes to the development of the infrastructure of recurrent and compensatory education and to the training for adults.
- The KY program develops the infrastructure and lifelong learning in working life.
- The expansion of higher education contributes to lifelong learning.

As for study assistance, there exists a proposal worked out by a Parliamentarian Commission to integrate the different programs for study assistance into one system built on the same principles where one part would consist of a loan and the other of a grant. There would be a change in the balance between the grant and loan proportions, with most of the support coming for regular post-secondary students. For other categories, there would be a gradual increase of the grant proportion, with the largest grants going to those in most need, (i.e. persons with a short previous education).

Within the Government, a working group including the social partners, has recently been set up to work out proposals as to Government support for education and training at work. It is to report its results in June 1998.

The rapid changes in the external environment call for new working methods. A full scientific foundation for new programs and policies cannot be awaited. In Sweden, the solution to this dilemma has been to start new investment project, on a preliminary basis and set up monitoring, reporting and evaluation procedures. This holds both for the AET and the KY program.

As for the AEI, the municipalities are to report to the National Schools Administration and the latter to the Government. The same holds for the Commission for the Promotion of Adult Education and Training. It is to report to the Government in 1998 and 1999 and to present its general proposals for reforms of adult education, training and lifelong learning in the year 2000. And already the Government has made changes in the program. The Government has, for instance, increased the number of study places available to the program by 40 percent, opened up for more employed people to participate in the program, to some extent revised the principal of no special Government funds for primary or lower secondary education and prepared for the extension in some cases of the special adult assistance to 2 years.

Of great interest in this monitoring process are the self-evaluations of the schools and the municipalities. Continuous improvements by the actors themselves are, of course, very important. Both bottom-up and top-down evaluations are necessary and links between them can promote the process of continuous improvements. The matrix below shows a number of areas that need to be covered by monitoring, reporting, evaluation and research. At the center are the results of the program in terms of knowledge effects. To the left are the inputs, the factors influencing the knowledge results—the costs and organization of education and the teaching process. To the right are found the further effects of the knowledge results in terms of employment, economic growth, social change, etc. As indicated in the figure, these factors and effects can be studied from an individual, local, national or even international perspective. The intention here is mainly to use the figure to discuss how to plan for improvements in the knowledge base and decision-making rather than substantive aspects—how to measure knowledge effects and to establish links between the different factors It should, however, be pointed out that "knowledge" in this case is to be interpreted in a broad sense It includes the foundations for further learning:

- basic competencies and life skills such as capacity to communicate, adapt, learn new things, social competence, capacity to co-operate, self-confidence and creativity;

- basic tools such as reading, writing and mathematics; and

- basic knowledge and a common frame of references.

At the municipal level the intention is primarily to follow the development of the educational organization and teaching methods and the effects on individual knowledge and employment. The results from such individual and local studies can be enhanced if compared with results from similar studies in other municipalities and at national level. The responsibility for the latter type of studies might preferably be conferred to national experts. They could also take the form of more detailed and penetrating case studies at municipal level to get a deeper understanding of the processes and outcomes. As such, they could also serve as objects of reference. In the present situation, with so much local variation, cost effectiveness studies must also be referred to case studies at the municipal level.

Professional expertise may also be required for the more far-reaching effects, (e.g. individual employment effects, and their relations to input factors and knowledge results where the use of relevant statistical methods is of great importance). This type of expertise can also be used to prepare subjective evaluations that can be used as benchmarks for the program both at national and local level.

Knowledge effects at the local level may also be more complicated to analyze when both secondary and leverage effects are to be included. The AEI program may on the one hand raise the awareness in municipalities at the political level, among employers, employees and others about the profitability of investments in education and training and thus lead to increased educational investments. On the other hand, substitution effects may also occur. The state funded program may replace investments in education and training that might have been undertaken otherwise—by the municipalities, the public employment services, and restructuring enterprises.

Another reason for calling for external expertise is the fact that the program combines education, labor and economic policy actions, which may call for new approaches. Traditionally, educational planning and school planning, nationally and locally, to the extent it existed in the municipalities, has been rather restricted and not so much related to the outside world and the world of work. However, it is important to stimulate the municipalities to work on the evaluation of the more aggregate effects at local level.

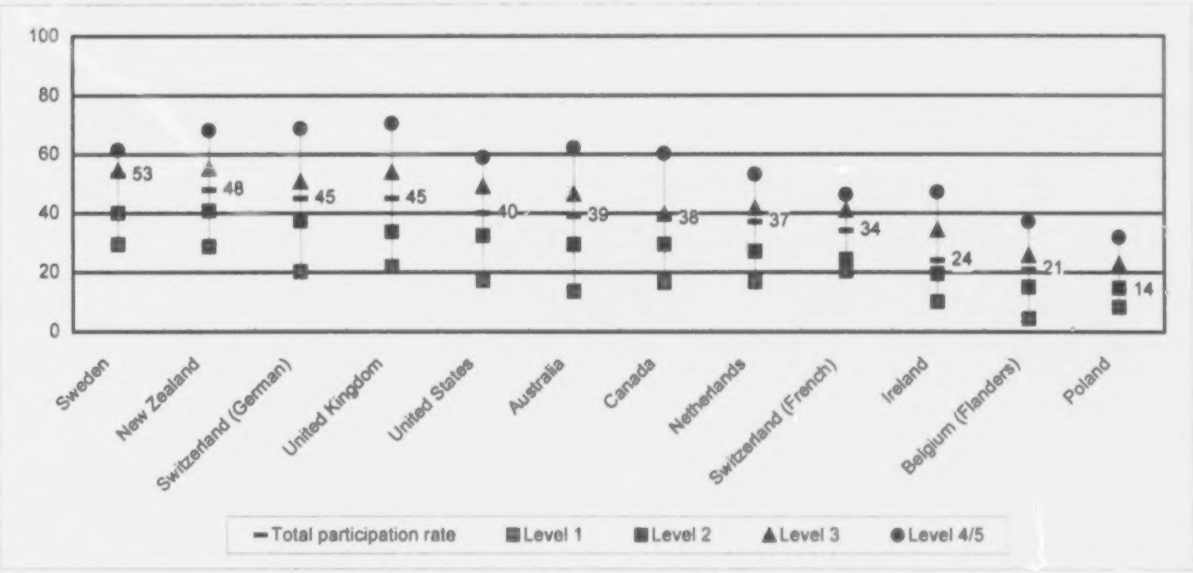
International comparisons may also be interesting to illustrate the effects of different types of adult education systems or educational policies—the expansion of adult education versus the expansion of higher education or youth education. However, this type of study may be more related to research than to evaluation. Other areas more suited for research than evaluation may be the long term effects of the present changes and more fundamental studies of their effects on learning and changes in the concepts and measurements of learning, knowledge, skills and competencies.

Summing up, one might say that what is needed to develop a system of lifelong learning is:

- continuous monitoring reporting and evaluation processes;
- combinations of top down and bottom up approaches (i.e. external evaluations and self-evaluations);
- policies at both national and local level that can continuously remain in line with the emerging knowledge society.

**Figure 1: Literacy and adult education participation**

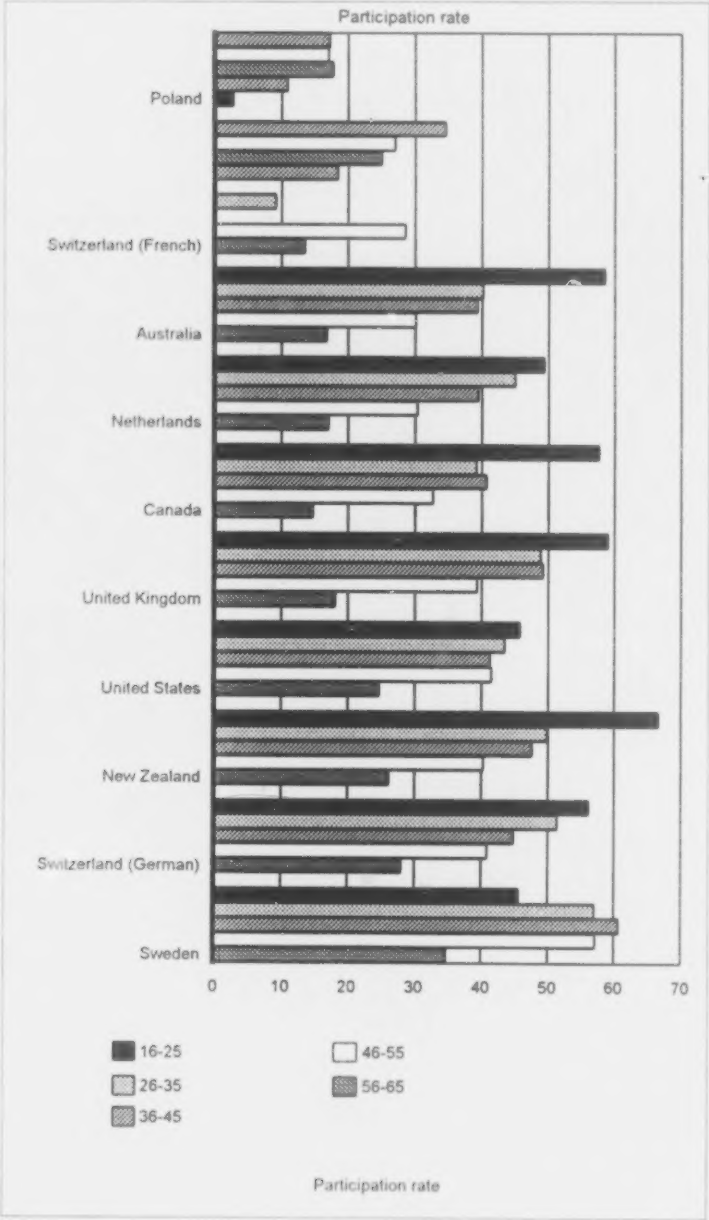
Percent of population aged 16-65 participating in adult education and training during the year preceding the interview, by document literacy level, 1994-1995



NOTE: Countries are ranked by the overall participation rate.

Sources: Reprinted from Human Resources Development Canada and OECD, *Literacy Skills for the Knowledge Society*, 1997, p. 93.

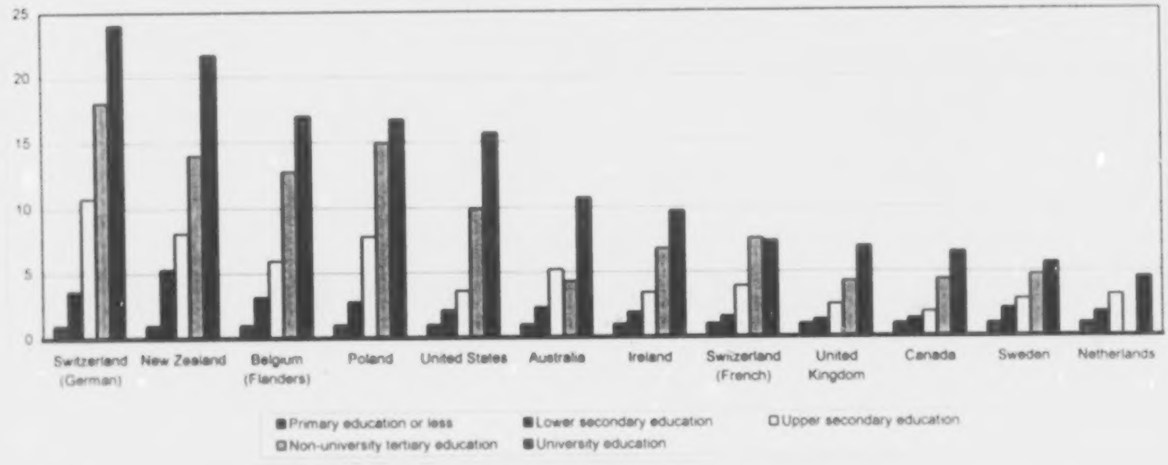
**Figure 2: Adult education participation and age**
Percent of population aged 16-65 participating in adult education and training during the year preceding the interview, by 10-year age intervals, 1994-1995



NOTE: Countries are ranked by the average rate of participation for those aged 46-65.
SOURCES: Reprinted for Human Resources Development Canada and OECD, *Literary Skills for the Knowledge Society*, 1997, p. 97

**Figure 3: Likelihood of participation by educational attainment**

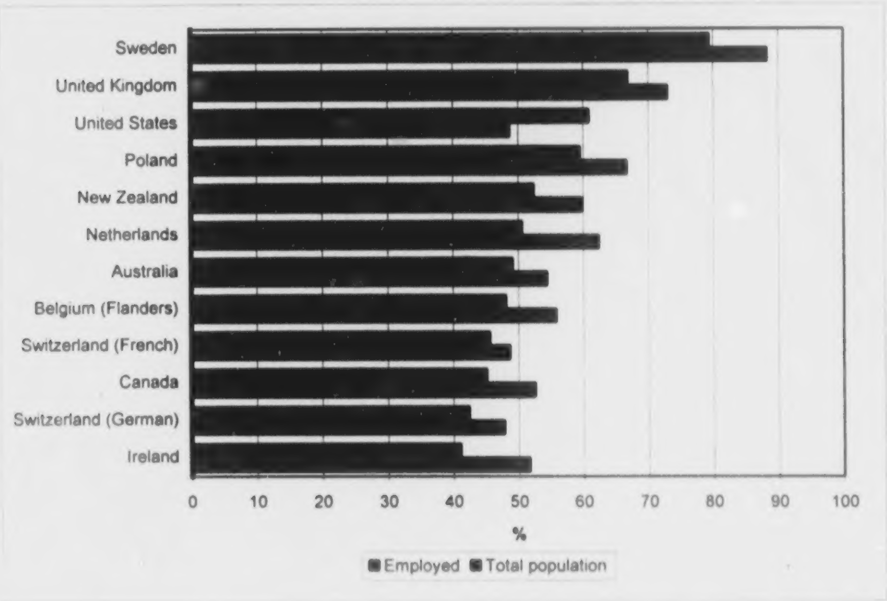
Adjusted odds ratios showing the likelihood of adults aged 16-65 receiving adult education and training during the year preceding the interview, by level of educational attainment, 1994-1995



NOTE: Countries are ranked according to the difference in the odds.

Sources: Reprinted from Human Resources Development Canada and OECD, *Literacy Skills for the Knowledge Society*, 1997, p. 95.

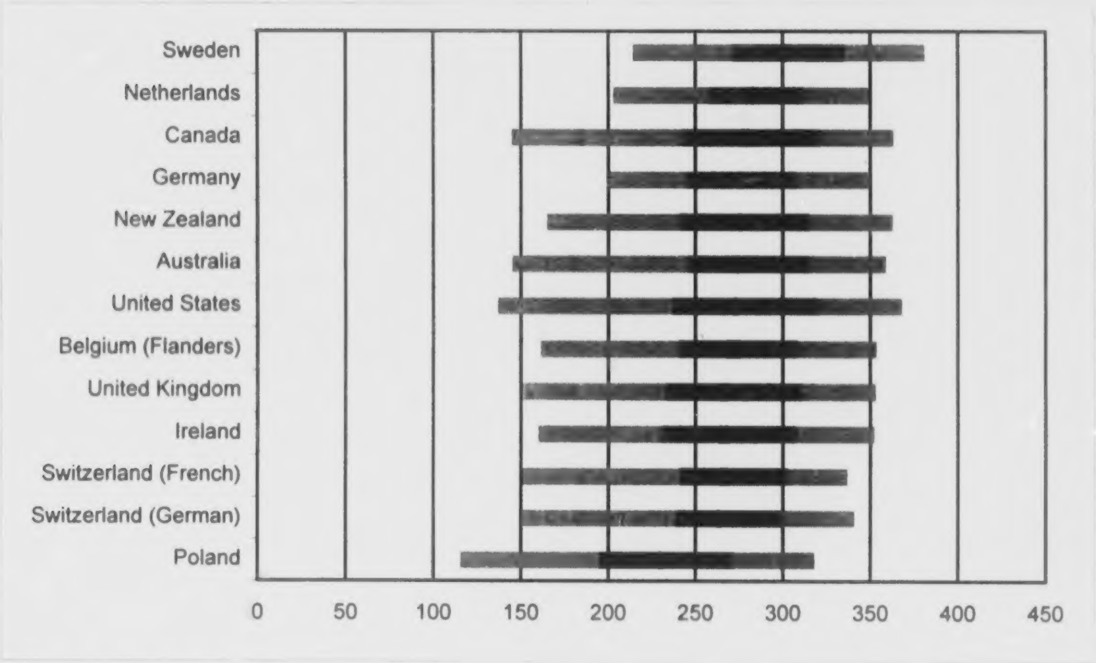
**Figure 4: Extent of employer-sponsored education and training**
Share of employer-sponsored courses in total adult education and training provision, for the employed and general adult population aged 16-65, 1994-1995

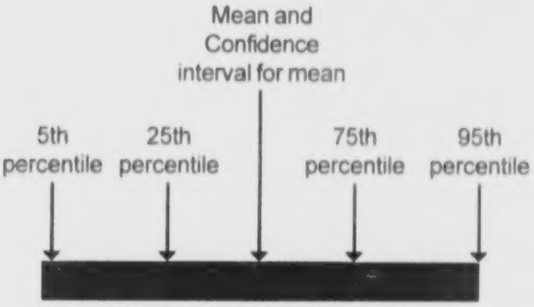


NOTE: Countries are ranked by the share of employer-sponsored training in the total provision for the general population, aged 16-65.
SOURCE: Reprinted for Human Resources Development Canada and OECD, *Literary Skills for the Knowledge Society*, 1997, p. 99.

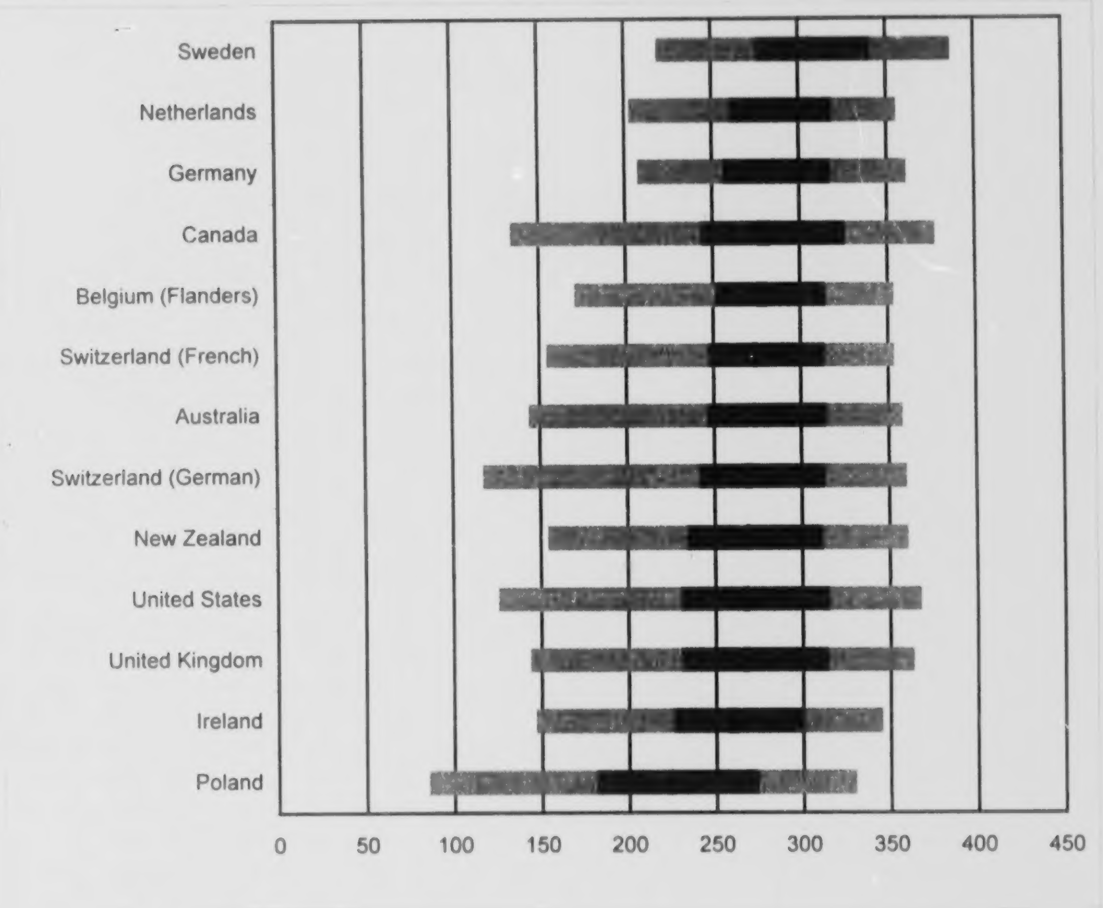
**Figure 5a: Distribution of literacy scores**

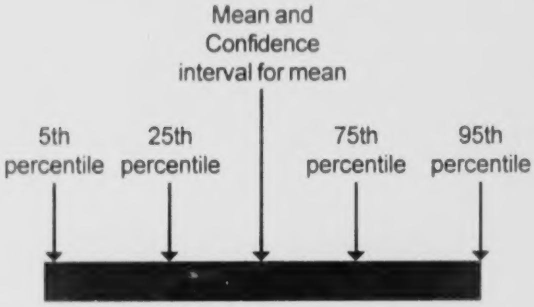
**A. Mean scores with .95 confidence interval and scores at 5th, 25th, 75th and 95th percentiles on the prose literacy scale, 1994-1995**



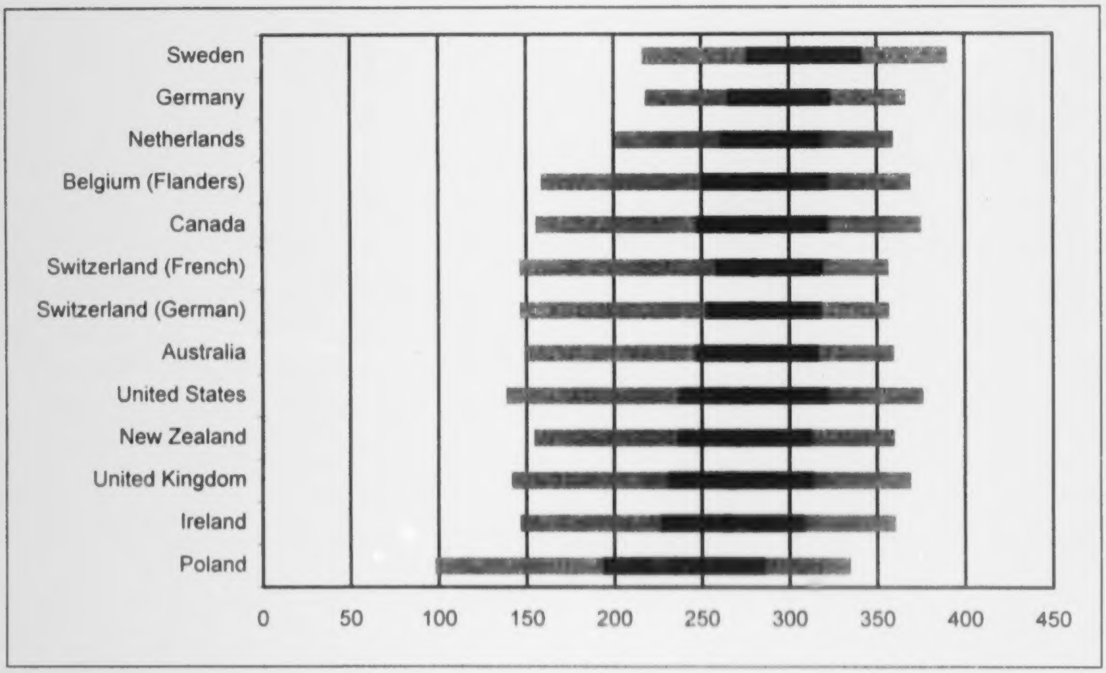


B. Mean scores with .95 confidence interval and scores at 5th, 25th, 75th and 95th percentiles on the document literacy scale, 1994-1995





**C. Mean scores with .95 confidence interval and scores at 5th, 25th, 75th and 95th percentiles on the quantitative literacy scale, 1994-1995**



NOTE: Countries are ranked by mean score differences.

SOURCE: Reprinted for Human Resources Development Canada and OECD, *Literary skills for the Knowledge Society, 1997, p. 22.*

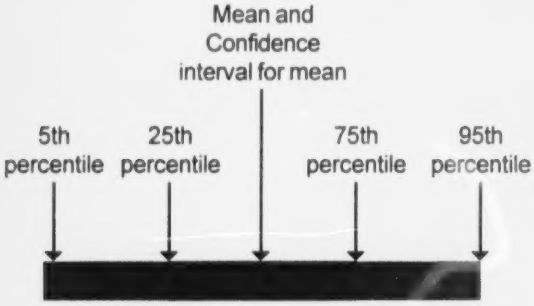
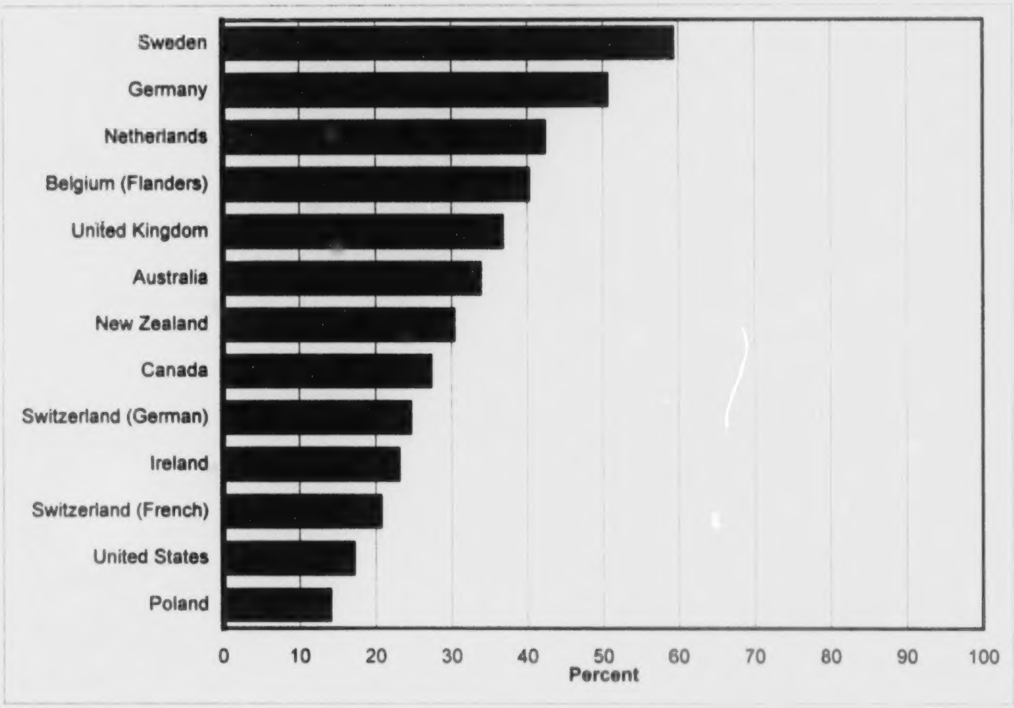
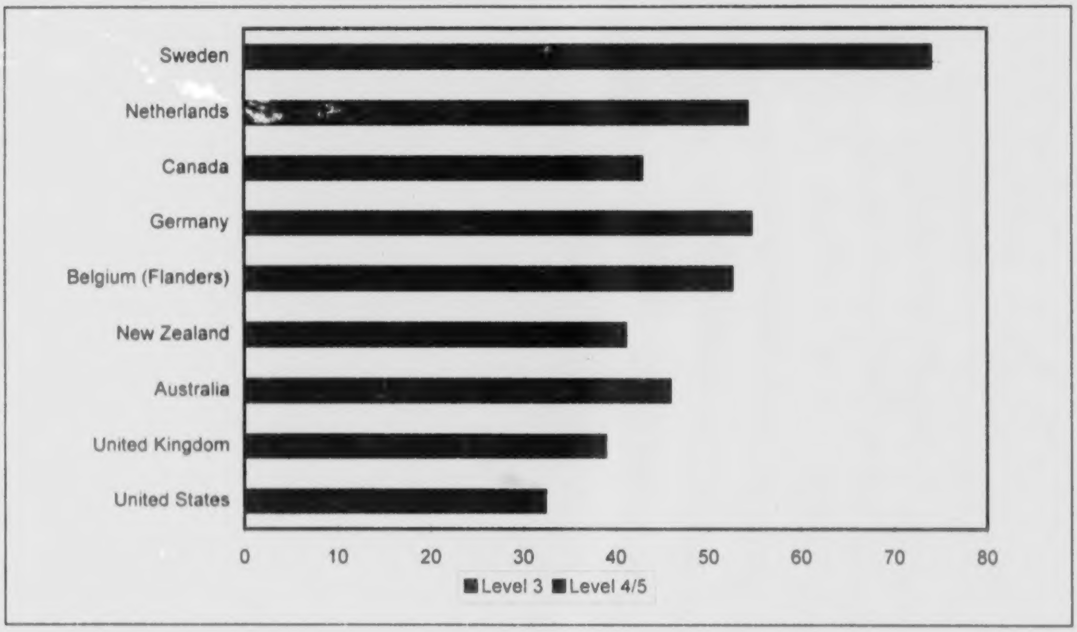


**Figure 5b: Document literacy levels among the low-educated adults**
Proportion of adults aged 16-65 who have not completed upper secondary education, but who nevertheless score at levels 3 and 4/5 on the document scale, 1994-1995



NOTE: Countries are ranked by the proportion of the population without upper secondary graduation who are at levels 3 and 4/5.
SOURCE: Reprinted for Human Resources Development Canada and OECD, *Literacy Skills for the Knowledge Society*, 1997, p. 29.

**Figure 5c: Blue-collar workers at medium to high skill levels**
Proportion of skilled craft workers and machine operators at literacy levels 3-5, document scale, selected countries, 1994-1995

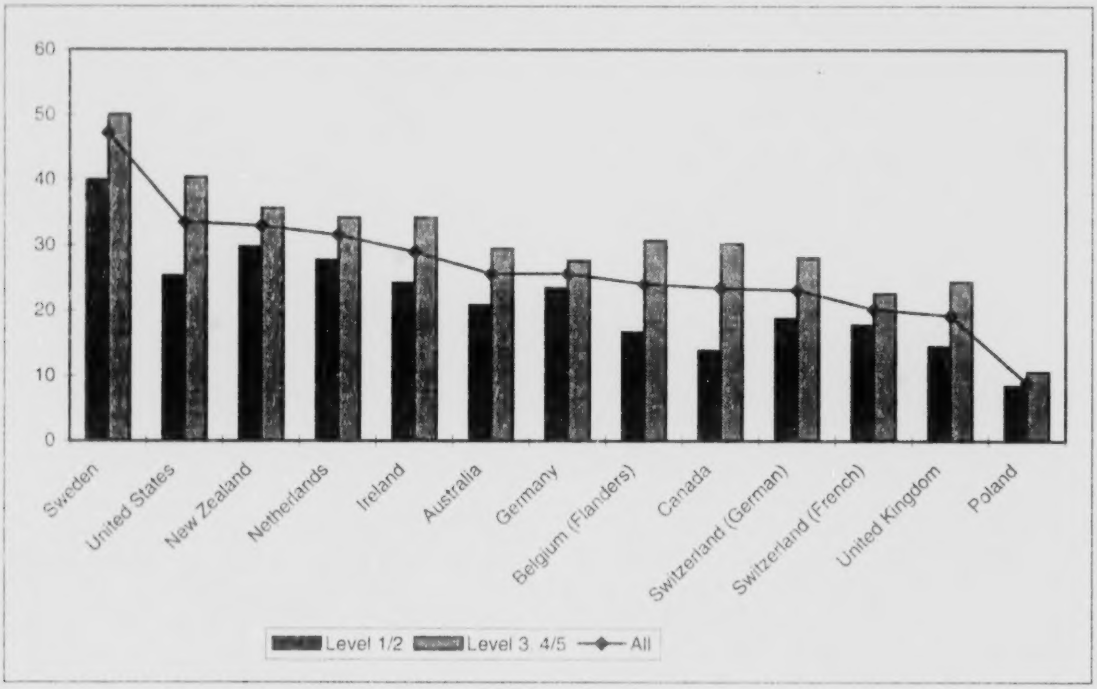


NOTE: Countries are ranked by the proportions of blue-collar workers at literacy levels 3 and 4/5.

*Source:* Reprinted from Human Resources Development Canada and OECD, *Literacy skills for the Knowledge Society, 1997, p. 54.*

**Figure 6: Literacy proficiency and community participation**

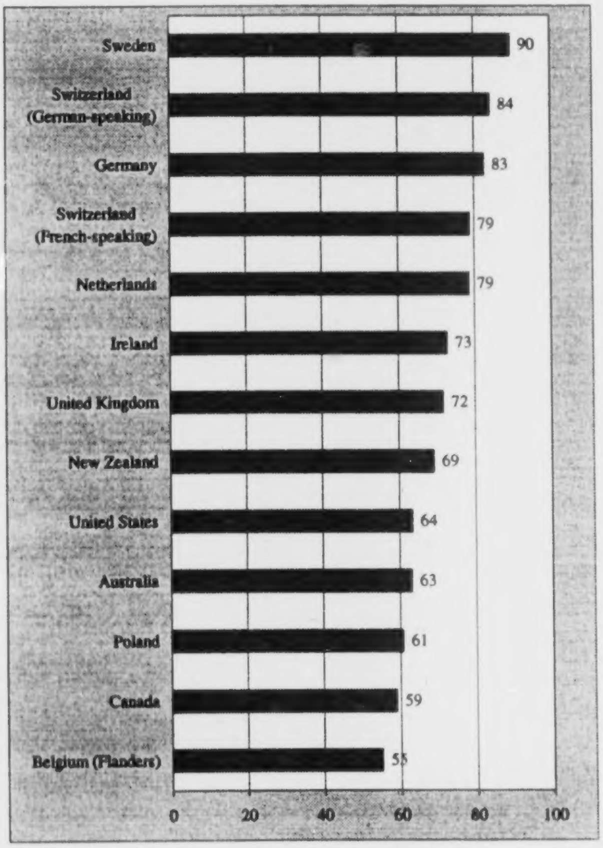
Proportion of the population aged 16-65 who participated in voluntary community activities at least once a month during the year preceding the interview, by prose literacy level, 1994-1995



NOTE: Countries are ranked by the overall proportions of population participating in community activities regularly.

Source: Reprinted from Human Resources Development Canada and OECD, *Literacy Skills for the Knowledge Society*, 1997, p. 57.

**Figure 7: Proportion of the population aged 16-65 who reported reading a newspaper daily**



SOURCE: OECD, *Education Policy Analysis*, 1997, p. 57.

**Figure 8: A framework for analysing needs of education and training**

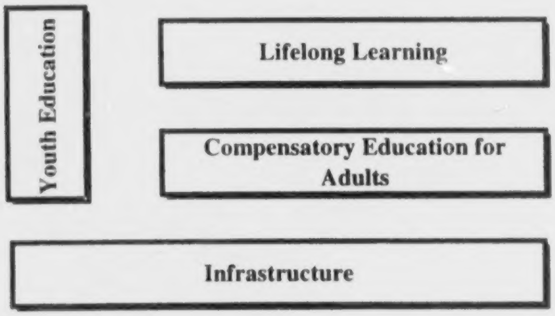


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**Figure 9: Areas for monitoring, reporting, evaluation and research**

| | Organisation | Process | Results | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Knowledge | Labour | Growth | Society |
| Individual | | | | | | |
| Local | | | | | | |
| National | | | | | | |
| International | | | | | | |

**Table 1: Traditional and alternative educational avenues for highest education, per cent of population 18-75 years (1991)**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Traditional, upper secondary and higher education | | | |
| | University | | 16.4 |
| | Upper secondary general | | 24.9 |
| | Upper secondary vocational | | 15.3 |
| Alternative of which | | | 13.6 |
| | Folk high school | 2.3 | |
| | Distance learning | 1.0 | |
| | Labour market training | 1.6 | |
| | Enterprise training | 4.7 | |
| | Private (other) | 2.5 | |
| | Municipal Adult Education | 1.5 | |
| Traditional, basic education | | | |
| | Lower secondary | | 8.3 |
| | Primary | | 21.5 |
| Total | | | 100.0 |

*Source:* SOU 1993:85, Ursprung och utbildning. Social snedrekrytering till högre studier.

**Table 2: Inflow of unemployed adults in labour market training in OECD countries 1990-1996 as a percentage of the labour force**

| | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Belgium | 1.9 | 1.8 | 1.9 | 2.5 | 3.1 | 3.0 | - |
| Canada | 1.2 | 2.4 | 2.5 | 2.6 | 2.3 | 1.9 | - |
| Czech Republic | - | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.2 |
| Denmark | 1.3 | 1.7 | 2.1 | 3.0 | 2.8 | 4.6 | 4.5 |
| Finland | 1.4 | 2.0 | 2.9 | 2.8 | 3.3 | 3.7 | 4.7 |
| France | 2.5 | 3.8 | 3.0 | 3.2 | 3.1 | 2.8 | - |
| Germany | 1.9 | 3.7 | 3.6 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 1.9 | 1.6 |
| Hungary | - | 1.2 | 1.0 | 1.3 | 1.2 | 0.7 | - |
| Japan* | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | - |
| Netherlands | 1.6 | 1.5 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 1.2 | 1.0 | 0.4 |
| Norway | 2.7 | 2.8 | 3.1 | 3.5 | 3.6 | 2.8 | - |
| Poland | - | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 |
| Sweden | 1.7 | 3.1 | 3.1 | 3.4 | 3.7 | 2.8 | - |
| Switzerland | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.9 | 1.0 | 1.2 | 1.5 | - |
| UK | 1.1 | 0.9 | 1.1 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 0.9 | - |
| USA | 0.9 | 0.7 | 0.7 | - | - | 0.7 | - |

Sweden, Japan, Canada, USA 19901/91, 1991/92, 1992/93, 1993/94, 1994/95, 1995/96, 1996/97
* Estimates based on GDP figures

*Sources:* OECD, *Employment Outlook* 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997.

**Table 3: Rates of labour force participation by level of educational attainment for the population 25 to 64 years of age (1995)**

| | Early childhood, primary and lower secondary education | Upper secondary education | Non-university tertiary education | University-level education | All levels of education |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **North America** | | | | | |
| Canada | 61 | 79 | 84 | 89 | 78 |
| United States | 60 | 79 | 86 | 89 | 79 |
| **Pacific Area** | | | | | |
| Australia | 66 | 81 | 84 | 89 | 75 |
| Korea | 72 | 72 | x | 82 | 74 |
| New Zealand | 68 | 85 | 81 | 89 | 77 |
| **European Union** | | | | | |
| Austria | 59 | 79 | 86 | 91 | 74 |
| Belgium | 55 | 78 | 85 | 89 | 69 |
| Denmark | 72 | 88 | 92 | 93 | 82 |
| Finland | 69 | 85 | 85 | 92 | 80 |
| France | 60 | 83 | 89 | 87 | 77 |
| Germany | 57 | 77 | 87 | 90 | 75 |
| Greece | 60 | 68 | 84 | 87 | 67 |
| Ireland | 58 | 72 | 85 | 88 | 67 |
| Italy | 54 | 76 | x | 87 | 63 |
| Luxembourg | 59 | 77 | x | 89 | 66 |
| Netherlands | 57 | 78 | a | 86 | 71 |
| Portugal | 72 | 82 | 88 | 94 | 75 |
| Spain | 58 | 80 | 88 | 87 | 66 |
| Sweden | 86 | 91 | 92 | 94 | 91 |
| United Kingdom | 62 | 82 | 86 | 91 | 79 |
| **Other OECD countries** | | | | | |
| Czech Republic | 60 | 84 | x | 93 | 81 |
| Norway | 65 | 84 | 88 | 93 | 82 |
| Poland | 58 | 79 | 86 | 87 | 74 |
| Switzerland | 71 | 82 | 92 | 92 | 82 |
| Turkey | 67 | 68 | x | 77 | 68 |
| **Country mean** | **63** | **80** | **87** | **89** | **75** |

*Source:* OECD, *Education at a Glance*, 1997, p.245.

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# Adult Learners:
# The Social, Cultural, and Economic History Behind Present Attitudes Toward Learning in Japan

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## Social, Cultural, and Economic History of Japanese Adult Learning

Japan is a small island country stretching in an arc along the easternmost coast of the Eurasian continent. And when we look at Japan's education and learning, we must remember the great influence exerted by this geographical situation. The British Isles are located at the western end of the same continent, and are separated from the continental landmass by the 32-kilometer wide English Channel. In contrast, Japan is separated from the continent by the Korean Straits, about 162 kilometers in width and swept by high waves. In the days when navigation was not well developed, Japan's geographical location kept it away from the main trade routes and isolated from other major countries, which were already taking pride in their advanced civilization. However, Japan's geographical location was not always a disadvantage for it, since it was this that made it possible for Japan to remain a peaceful community, free from invasion by other countries. (1)

There are four historical facts that are of major importance in terms of Japan's history of learning from and with foreign cultures, namely: missions to China in the period from the 7th to the 9th century; a national policy of isolation in the 16th century (the Christian century); the Meiji Restoration in the 19th century and the occupation policy of the United States after World War II.

### Missions to China from the 7th to the 9th Century

Early in the 7th century Prince Shotoku carried out a policy of sending missionaries to China, a society which rightly took great pride in its advanced civilization, so that the institutions, science, arts and ideas that had developed in China might be introduced into Japan. Missionaries and students were sent once in the year 600, three times during the period 607–614, and at frequent regular intervals during the ensuing two centuries. Those who were sent included priests, scholars, medical doctors, artists, musicians and blacksmiths. Some people who had specialized in technical fields stayed in China for a number of years and continued to participate in intense study and training, eventually returning home to occupy leading positions in Japan. In the year 645, Japan became a nation governed by the rule-of-law. What the Japanese learned in cultural, academic, and technical fields during the periods referred to above exerted a great influence on their system of values and way of life for many centuries right up to the time of World War II.

Today it is taken for granted that a country will borrow elements of its political, social, and economic institutions from more advanced countries, but it is surprising that Japan should have, more than a thousand years ago, absorbed Chinese institutions and techniques and continued to do so for such a very long time. Japan took strenuous efforts to assimilate its borrowings in a systematic way. It was a function of the "Silk Road"and Nara, the capital of Japan at that time, was the end of the Road because of the barrier presented by the Pacific Ocean. (2)

In written language, Chinese characters are symbols by themselves rather than requiring a combining with others to express a meaning or idea. Transmitted through literature, the Confucian teachings and system of the region produced the "Chinese Letter and Confucian Cultural Zone." It spread in the 3rd century to Korea and in the 7th century to Japan and it promoted a very high standard of culture and learning. Since then, Chinese letter learning and Confucian teachings have become very respected and the people of Japan have followed the morality and lifestyle of Confucianism. Learning was ranked highly by Kong Zi, the founder of Confucianism.

For that reason, people were very conscious of learning and educational standards. "Ke Ju"(the imperial examination system) had been implemented since the 6th century. In this system a person who mastered the arcane aspects of Confucianism and passed the examinations obtained a high position in the imperial hierarchy. Even in present-day Japan, this tradition influences people to respect examinations, qualifications, certifications and academic careers. Even poor parents are enthusiastic about education for their children.

There is no evidence that the Japanese had their own script before they adopted the Chinese characters early in the Christian Era. The earliest extant Japanese documents, the Kojiki (712), indicate that a Chinese people called "Wani" came to Japan through Korea bringing with them "Lunyu" (the analects of Confucius) and Buddhism scripture. It was in the 4th–5th centuries that this occurred. It is presumed that at that time Japanese nobles and the ruling class were thoroughly learned in Chinese characters. Therefore, through Chinese language they learned and adopted Chinese laws and systems during the Tang dynasty and established a nation based on codes of laws. (3)

"Lunyu" includes chapters on the encouragement of learning, ideal politics and administration, protection of tradition, virtue, happiness, and education. In the first chapter on Learning, the master said:

1. "Is it not pleasure to learn with a constant perseverance and application?"
2. "Is it not delightful to have friends coming from distant quarters?" and
3. "Is he a man of complete virtue, who feels no discomposure though men may take no note him?"

Already in the 4th century B.C., Kon Zi (552-479 BC) had said, "Learning is Pleasure."
Also the Master said in Chapter VI the following:

1. "At fifteen, I had my mind bent on learning."
2. "At thirty, I stood firm."
3. "At forty, I had no doubts."
4. "At fifty, I knew the decrees of Heaven."

5. "At sixty, my ear was an obedient organ for the reception of the truth."
6. "At seventy, I could follow what my heart desired, without transgressing against what was right."

This is the idea of lifelong learning. (4)

However, Confucianism is the basis of the "ruler's logic," not democracy. The morality and system of Confucianism requires a family like "He"(harmony). That is, the integration of family, society, and state should have the same strength of relationships as those of a father to a son or a teacher to a student. Individuals should devote selfless loyalty to the group, society, or state to which they have affiliations. Confucianism is very strict in its teaching that men are superior to women. This concept and the attitudes it promotes is still deeply rooted in Japan's social system and results in sex discrimination.

During the ensuing two centuries, Japan continued to borrow many things from China, and on this foundation the Japanese were able to achieve explosive developments in their own culture. The Japanese situation was a striking contrast to that of Northern European countries, where cultural development took place at a very slow tempo as if feeling for a way forward in the darkness. (5)

## The National Isolation Policy of the 16th Century

Confronted with new ideas from the West, Japan was forced to make changes in every sector of its national life, in political, economic and cultural spheres. In the Great Navigation era, which started at the end of the 15th century, Japan was more or less under the influence of the European powers. The introduction of guns into Japan in 1543 was followed 6 years later, in 1549, by the introduction of Christianity by Francisco Xavier. Japan, as a whole, was then at war, so its situation was not conducive to being able to observe what was going on in foreign countries, but these two events compelled the Japanese to open their eyes to the outside world. (6)

The missionary work of the "lyezusu Kai" (Society for Jesus Christ) was carried out in churches and schools of Christian teaching, opened where the missionaries established themselves, children's schools which aimed to get Japanese children to leave the temple school and study Christian teachings, the evangelists' school for the training of missionaries, and the medical school which opened in the hospital of Bungo to train medical doctors.

The generous attitude showed by the missionaries toward other religions evoked a strong resistance among the Buddhists to Christianity. After succeeding in unifying the country, Toyotomi Hideyoshi came to think that Christianity spread dangerous thoughts against the ruling powers and became aware of the fact that Spain propagated Christianity in the Philippines and conquered that country. In 1587, Hideyoshi issued a directive ordering that the Christian missionaries be deported.

Later, in 1635, Japanese were banned from traveling abroad or returning from overseas. In 1639, the entry of Portuguese vessels into Japanese ports was prohibited, and in 1641, a Dutch firm moved to an island off the coast of Nagasaki, completing the national isolation policy of the Tokugawa Shogunate in the Edo era (Edo is the old name for Tokyo). This policy continued for a period of over two centuries until 1853, when Admiral Perry's fleet visited Uraga Port. During the period of national isolation, Japan enjoyed peace and political stability at home, and its own culture matured.

Despite the national isolation policy Japan had external relations with the Netherlands, China and Korea. The Netherlands was, it was true, a Christian country, but it was allowed to maintain relations with Japan on condition that those relations were confined to trade and that Christianity was not brought into Japan. The Japanese were therefore able to obtain a little knowledge of trends in Europe from reports given by the crews of Dutch vessels that visited Japan. The study of the Dutch language also developed, restrictions were relaxed to allow the import of Chinese versions of foreign books.

During the isolation period, Japan enjoyed freedom from warfare at home and abroad. This period witnessed the stabilization of the system of local rule by military lord (Daikyo) under a strong shogunate authority. A self-ascribed ruling class of Samurai monopolized all functions of government above the level of village and town. Under this feudal system, the Tokugawa Shogunate defined four classes of people. These separate classes were, Samurai, farmers, commoners and townsmen (merchants). This was a system similar to that which originated in China. (7)

Japan experienced significant political, social, economic and cultural change during this period. It prospered both economically and culturally. Along with an increase in population, there is evidence of a general improvement of housing, food, clothing, and education over most of the Edo period. During the Edo period, Neo-Confucian thought was adopted as the official ideology.

Near the end of the Edo Period schooling had become significant. Large schools called "Hanko" were formally organized by dominant authorities which provided a graded system of instruction in Chinese classics to almost every Samurai child.

And local "Terakoya" private schools functioned as elementary schools, where reading, writing and arithmetic were taught by unemployed Samurai (warriors), monks or others. The textbook was called "ouraimono" by which youth were taught how to write letters which included greetings four each season, various kinds of invitations and greetings to beginning a new post and so on. It was said this was a masterpiece textbook of the world. Other private schools and academies (Shijuku) provided more advanced instruction in a variety of disciplines and schools of thought to both Samurai and commoners.

For the Japanese, the Edo period with the study of Chinese classics, was like studying Greek and Roman classics for the Elizabethan Englishman. These served as the repository of wisdom and knowledge. However, there was an important difference between them. In Europe, religion and morality were predominant by the province of a separately institutionalized and powerful church. In Japan, the more weakly organized Buddhist Temple yielded authority in the moral spheres to the new Confucian schools.

In the Edo period, traditional music, dance, tea ceremony, flower arrangement, "Noh" play, and military arts matured. The lemoto system (master-family system) each school inherited secret traditions and prized art objects of the school. Traditional cultural activities such as tea ceremony, flower arrangement and calligraphy were a kind of "Education for marriage" for girls. The lemoto system still exists and offers a degree and qualification as master or teacher and a great number of Japanese people learn and enjoy cultural activities. (8)

## The Meiji Restoration in the 19th Century

In the latter half of the 19th century Japan underwent drastic changes as a result of its opening up to the rest of the world. The impact of Western civilization on Japan was the most traumatic and disturbing event of its entire history. Like other non-Western countries, Japan was exposed to the overwhelming force of a capitalist civilization showing off its tremendous productivity and military strength as well as its advanced science and technology. For Japan, this process of opening up the country to the world was indeed a watershed in its history. Subsequently, non-Western countries including Japan, no matter whether they became colonies of the Western countries or not, were compelled to break with their traditions and accept the challenge of Western civilization.

Under the great pressure exerted by the European countries and the United States, Japan feared that it might become a colony of the Western powers. So the Japanese implemented a policy of getting to know the secrets of the wealth and power of the countries of Europe and America, so that they could absorb these secrets into their civilization and make use of them to make Japan a strong nation. Japan's leaders were well aware of the necessity of training qualified manpower capable of absorbing Western technology, institutions, and ideas and of taking the lead in building a modern economy and society. They knew that without such manpower any effort to modernize Japan could hardly bear fruit.

The situation was similar to that of old Japan that vigorously imported Chinese civilization a thousand years earlier. But in the era of the Meiji Restoration, Japan absorbed Western civilization faster and more systematically. Those selected for study abroad were chosen after careful consideration of their ability, and the countries to which they were sent also chosen with great care. The strengths of different countries varied according to subject, so the selected persons were sent to those countries that were strongest in the subject in question. For example, some went to Britain to study the navy and merchant shipping, some to Germany to study the army and medical science, some to France to study local administration and law and some to the United States to study business practice.

A prominent Japanese educator, writer and founder of Keio University, Fukuzawa Yukichi was influenced by the British Statesman, John Stuart Mill, as a utilitarian was the opinion leader of his day. His book entitled "An Enlightenment of Learning" in 1872 was the best seller at that time. (9)

At the same time, the Government invited to Japan "foreign experts" who were well paid and who served as government advisers. The expert of Education was David Murray (1830–1905) from the United States of America. He stayed in Japan for the period of 1873–1879 and established an infrastructure of education and culture which included teacher training as well as adult education. He created the first Western style university, Tokyo University, and museum. At that time the slogan was "Japanese Spirit and Western Knowledge." (10)

The modern school education system started in 1872. The Meiji government began a policy which committed people to three primary responsibilities: military service, tax payment and education. Persons who neglected their duties were punished. Among the children there were some who could not attend the schools because of coming from economically poor families. Nowadays, Japan is one of the countries that provide a complete and thorough education for almost the entirety of its people.

The national administration of education was reformed to cope with the rapid changing society following World War I and, in 1929, the Social Education Bureau was established in the Ministry of Education. From then on, Japanese social education was closely controlled by the Government until the end of World War II. (11)

When the term "social education" was formally adopted, it replaced the term "popular education." (Tsuzoku Kyoiku) Beginning with the Meiji restoration in 1868, the enlightenment of people in the form of "popular education" was encouraged with the introduction of European model institutions like libraries and museums. At the same time, the primary emphasis was on education for working youth, including technical training and the establishment of youth organizations (Semen-dan).

Democratic ideas introduced into Japan with the Westernization process brought about by the Meiji Restoration were forcibly suppressed as representing a dangerous ideology that was opposite the Government's bureaucratic and, one could say, coercive policy of "conveying the will and ideas of those who govern to those who are governed." This situation continued up to the end of World War II. (12)

## End of World War II and U.S. Occupation 1945–1952

Having been defeated in the Second World War, a shift in values took place under the U.S. occupation, from militarism and ultra-nationalism to democratic ideas. This was a Copernican change for the Japanese. Basically, the U.S. occupation policy aimed to inculcate three principles: internationalism, pacifism and democracy. It was emphasized that Japan should carry out a policy of international cooperation and that an environment should be created that would enable Japan to discard its insular attitudes and increase intellectual exchange with foreign countries.

In 1945, General Douglas MacArthur, presented to the Japanese Cabinet a proposal entitled "The Five Major Points for Democratization of Japan." First on the list was the emancipation of the women of Japan through their enfranchisement—"that being members of the body politic, they may bring to Japan a new concept of government directly subservient to the well being of the home." This was to be supported by a major effort to enhance civics education among Japanese adults in general. The Occupation Authorities Officer In-Charge of Education was J.M. Nelson. Under these points, insurance of equality in "decision making," observance of the decision once made, and careful attention paid to the decision-making process were essential to a democracy. The revision of the Election Law in 1945 legislated the equal right to vote for women. And, under the guidance given by the Occupation Authorities, among all adult education programs the greatest stress was given to women's civic education. (13)

The guidance given by the Occupation Authorities in adult education was based on the theory of group-work. On November 3, 1946, the Japanese Constitution, the so-called "Peace Constitution," was promulgated.

The preamble to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (OECD) Constitution which states that "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that defenses of peace must be constructed" struck a chord in the hearts of many Japanese who now had a strong desire for lasting peace. As an occupied country, Japan was not allowed to acquire membership in UNESCO, but the preamble to the UNESCO constitution stimulated the upsurge of a movement for positive cooperation with the world body. Direct education in international understanding was to be carried out under the occupation policy aimed at diffusing democratic ideas through the introduction of the American way of life, together with UNESCO policy aimed at increasing Japanese international understanding. (14)

In 1947, the Fundamental Education Law was enacted, aiming to raise self-reliant citizens in a peaceful and democratic state, and provide equality of educational opportunity for all, according to their abilities. The law emphasized the encouragement of social education, calling on national and local authorities to establish such institutions as libraries, museums and Kominkan (citizens' public halls). In the main, social education was to be conducted through community-based adult civic education, its programs closely related to the needs of the community. A fruitful outcome depended greatly on learners' willingness to pursue their studies spontaneously and independently. Even today, citizen's public halls remain central to adult education.

"The Survey on Literacy of Japanese People" was conducted in 1950 by the National Institute for National Language under the guidance of Mr. John C. Pelzel, a social anthropologist affiliated with the CIE. Its purpose was to examine how the post-war occupation policies of the United States of America affected the degree of illiteracy among Japanese people. It was the largest survey of the time. (15)

In Japan, family planning began not as an issue of reproductive rights, but simply as economic necessity. According to traditional Japanese concepts, a child must be welcomed as a gift from God. There was no room for the individual to decide if she should have a child or not. The introduction of the idea of equal rights for men and women did not provide the incentive for family planning either. Difficult living conditions resulting from the wholesale destruction of the war had made life hazardous. Family planning for the first time was accepted as necessary for the protection of the mothers' and children's health.

In 1954, The Family Planning Federation of Japan was formed at the request of Ministry of Health and Welfare, and would promote the movement for family planning. The Federation's activities resulted in a dramatically reduced birth rate. It was later called a population revolution or the "Japanese population miracle." (16)

The introduction of American democracy brought about a revolutionary change in Japanese women's lives in other ways as well. It completely altered traditional views on women and laid the foundation for the improvement of women's status both in and outside the family. With the new Constitution and introduction of the Education Act and the Labor Standards Act, male superiority in the family began to fade. A true coeducational system would appear, along with the formal endorsement of equal pay for equal work, and legal protection for maternity. Indeed, as early as 1945–46, many women were elected to the Japanese Diet.

Up to this time, most Japanese women accepted a life that was decided by others. However, woman's life-spans were being extended. They now had much smaller families and therefore a shorter period of child-rearing. The load of housework was reduced through the diffusion of household electrical appliances that enabled them to have more free time. Their educational level began to increase rapidly, furthering the pressure for equality between men and women. Women became more and more aware of the importance of selecting and creating their own lives-styles. (17)

## Rapid Economic Growth—Adult Education to Meet a Swiftly Evolving Society 1955–1974

During the period 1955 to 1974, Japan's great economic growth was increasing rapidly perhaps due to Japan's unique lifelong employment system, education system and seniority system. The seniority system links promotion and benefits strictly to age and length of service. The root of this practice goes back to the 1920s and 1930s and has continued to the present. However, the situation has made this system of practices incompatible with the rise in life expectancy and joint participation of men and women in the labor market.

It led to neither reconstruction nor the increased democratization of small communities. On the contrary, it resulted in rapid migration to cities that became thronged with workers, especially the young. Family structures evolved relatively quickly from the extended family model to the nuclear family model, bringing significant changes in the social environment. It weakened the linkage among the inhabitants of local communities. Signs of disorganization and disintegration of rural communities began to appear. Furthermore, rapid unbridled economic growth resulted in air pollution, water contamination, massive traffic congestion and it generally made people feel as if things were badly out of balance. Gradually, with so much emphasis on growth and development, individuals became aware that they themselves had to take action if there was going to be an improvement in the quality of their lives. (18)

This rapid economic growth enabled householders to procure electrical appliances, ready-made clothes and pre-cooked foods, all of which lightened the housewives' tasks and increased their leisure time. Combined with governmental policies designed to develop women's vocational outlets in order to boost the economy, these developments resulted in many middle-aged women going to work. They usually waited until after their children had grown up to start working. After having devoted considerable time and effort the raising and educating what was becoming fewer children in the home, most women went to work on a part-time basis. (19)

The Japanese government issued a report entitled "The Restoration of Humanities in the Community Life." About the same time, the Minister of Education officially consulted with his Social Education Council on "What should social education be like in the rapidly by changing social structure?" On the equality front, the joint participation of men and women in many fields was well in progress. In the latter half of the 1960s, Japan's national policy introduced the concept of volunteer work as a part of both youth and women's education. In the 1960s, a "volunteer center" was established in every prefecture to support government efforts in the field of welfare. Some issues addressed by volunteers were new community problems resulting directly from stupendous growth including the destruction of nature, public pollution, misuse of natural resources, the degradation of community social structures resulting from industrialization, urbanization, and an increase in the number of elderly people who lived alone. The inhabitants of smaller communities wished to recreate the spontaneous solidarity and cooperation in their communities they had known in their youth. In order to help solve those problems, about 30 percent of the women in their 30s and 40s took part in some kind of volunteer work. (20)

At the same time, private culture centers run by educational and cultural industries were becoming highly developed. Often a function of profit-making broadcasting, department stores, railways and press interests, these centers provided a tremendous number of opportunities for exposure of the general public to a variety of national and international educational and cultural exhibits.

## International Women's Year—Growth of Feminist Consciousness 1975–1984

Women's liberation in Japan was characterized as a new cultural movement aimed at the study of women. It's obstacles were, and are, many, including the Patriarchy, Buddhism, Confucianism and the idea of the vertical, male-oriented society that divides individuals into upper and lower classes. One of the peculiarities of women's problems in Japan is that women are unaware of their human individuality. According to Confucian ethics, "Harmony is the Greatest Virtue" and Western individualism has been denied as contradictory to social harmony. As a result, women's primary value derived from their traditional role in the family system. The "Good Wife and Wise Mother" have been regarded as ideals for all women, regardless of personal aspirations. International Women's Year in 1975 provided great impetus to Japanese women. (21)

The Japanese government carried out the most vigorous programs ever seen in Japan with the aim of increasing equality between men and women and thus raising the women's social status. In particular it worked strenuously for the enactment of the Law for Employment Equality between Men and Women.

The year of 1983 can be said to have been the first year of the new media age in Japan. Today, various communication media, which have effectively contributed to socio-economic development, have penetrated deeply into our daily lives. They have played an important role in economic and social change. It is up to the individual to find ways of obtaining and managing appropriate information and knowledge for personal and social benefit. Terms such as multimedia, Internet, personal computer communication has become, familiar to us, but understanding the meanings of these words is a different matter. There are many that are illiterate in computer technology. There is a wide gap in technical knowledge between computer users and non-users. This may be partially due to people's ages. (22)

The development of information technology is faster and more intense than was expected. Able individuals have been actively participating in social changes that aim to develop a sustainable society. The government encourages workers to keep up their vocational skills throughout their working lives and tries to reduce their working hours and establish systems of paid leave for educational and professional training.

## Lifelong Learning Movement—Requirements of a Modern Society: 1984–1994

For the past 50 years the Japanese have chosen to use the term "social education." For adult learning this term is probably the equivalent of the term "liberal arts adult education" used in the West. This kind of education does not necessarily lead to specific vocational or professional qualifications, instead, the adult's main reason to learn may be intellectual curiosity, cultural improvement, sports, improvement in one's quality of life, mental satisfaction, or just for fun and pleasure. "Lifelong learning" is used in Japan as the broadest of learning terms, encompassing all learning activities including formal education, sporting and cultural activities, recreation and out-door activities. "Social Education" is just a part of the total lifelong learning concept.

In the 1990s, Japan became a multilinguistic and multicultural society with a great number of migrant workers and their families coming to Japan. As of 1996, the number of foreigners living in Japan was 1,362,371 or 1.09 percent of the total population. The largest group was Korean with 49 percent of the total foreigner population, followed by Chinese at 16 percent, 13 percent were Brazilian, 5 percent were Filipino, 3 percent were American, and 2 percent were Peruvian. A realistic figure adds some 200-300,000 illegal migrant workers. After the Immigration Law was revised in 1989, the number of 2nd and 3rd generation Japanese-descendant Brazilians and Peruvians returning to Japan with their families increased steeply. These are significant numbers considering the Chinese-Confucianism culture of Japan, which has a tradition of placing much value on blood linkage. (23)

The population of older adults has rapidly increased. The ratio of older adults has doubled in a 24-year period to rise from 7 percent to 14 percent. As compared with other countries we can see a significant difference: France 114 years, Sweden 82 years, the United States 69 years, the UK 64 years and Germany 42 years. Japan's Labor Laws set the retirement age at 60 but most men choose to take another job until the age of 65. Following their second retirement most men embark on a third learning course. The pattern of Japanese working women follows an M curve. Many retire to start a family. After child rearing, it is difficult to reenter the workforce on a full time basis so most work part-time. There is a large demand for extra learning from women over the age of 35.

Due to the increase in leisure time during weekends for both school children and adults, a group, or circle, and volunteer activities have become popular methods for seeking to fulfill one's life by creating unique lifestyles. Since 1992, the Ministry of Education and Science, Culture, and Sports has proposed a conceptual design where people are engaged in various kinds of volunteer activities consistent with their knowledge or skills gained through lifelong learning programs. At the Nagano Winter Olympiad, 32,000 volunteers worked there. However, we need to study a social evaluation of volunteer activities that pays travel expenses or lunch. It seems to me, volunteer activities promoted by the public sector are the Japanese pattern of participation.

Contemporary society can be defined in such terms as "information society," "the global society"or "the aging society." In these contexts, Japanese people are seeking to change their lifestyles, to live with more autonomy, individual fulfillment and cultural self-expression based on their own original ideas and ability. A book entitled "Thought of Seisin (honest poverty)" written by Koji Nakano was published in 1992 and it was a best seller. The book describes the lifestyle of a priest of Zen Buddhism who, though lie had a minimal standard of living, developed a high quality of thought. The books ideas warn against the social climate of materialism. The people most influenced by these ideas are hard working senior workers in their fifties who are retiring soon. It is interesting that people in Europe and the United States of America take an opposite view as compared to the Japanese. Americans work for wealth in their retirement.

## Present Learning Activities of Japanese Adults

In 1995, the total population of Japan was 125,569, 000 with 73 percent of total population living in cities. The ratio of adult population (over 20 years of age) was 64.3 percent. The ratio of the older adult population, of those over 65 years of age was 15.6 percent. In the 1990s Japan's Labor Laws set the retirement age at 60 but most men chooses to take another job until the age of 65.

As of 1996, the number of foreigners living in Japan was 1.09 percent of the total population. The largest group was Korean followed by Chinese, Brazilian, Filipino, American, and Peruvian. A realistic figure adds some 300,000 illegal migrant workers.

### Learning Activities

#### *Illiterate People*

The Year of International Literacy was 1990, yet most Japanese people are not aware of the domestic problem of illiteracy. They assume there are no illiterates in Japan. However, there are a sizable number of illiterates who wish to become literate. Because of the high economic growth in Japan, nationwide research on literacy has not been conducted for 40 years. Therefore, the Japanese people are not aware of the problem. However, approximations indicate that 3 million or 3 percent, of the total population are illiterate. These are mostly the Buraku people, members of a socially segregated group, and members of the Ainu tribe. The largest groups among these are middle aged and older women. Recently, the population of refugees from Vietnam and Cambodia in Japan is high. Koreans, returnees from China, and workers from Asian countries are adding to the increasing number of illiterates.

During the 1960s, the Buraku liberation movement expanded rapidly, demanding the central government make a policy for the Buraku liberation. After a special law was passed in 1969, the housing and health environment with regard to Buraku people rapidly improved. But even with these improvements, less than 20 percent of the Buraku children go to universities, as compared to about 40 percent of Japan's other children.

### *Literacy Classes*

Literacy classes in Buraku communities are organized as a movement for liberation. Literacy activities in Buraku communities began in the 1960s with the rising liberation movement. Today, throughout Japan it is said that there are 600 classes in literacy being conducted in Buraku communities. As of 1986 there were 34 evening classes conducted at junior high schools with 2,700 learners. To further these initiatives, the Central Committee for the Year of International Literacy was established in January 1990.

Some community centers offer learning opportunities in Japanese Language. These classes are widely open to all people, not only Japanese but also to Koreans, foreign workers from other Asian countries, as well as foreign women who married Japanese. Besides "Literacy Class" there are evening classes at Junior High Schools and Voluntary Literacy Classes conducted by Koreans, such as the Mugi-mame Class (barley-beans) in Osaka. (24)

### *The Adult Learner*

According to a report entitled "Comprehensive Study on Educational Planning of Lifelong Learning Society" conducted by National Educational Research, the ratio of people enrolled in Social Education programs conducted by cities, towns and villages during 1990 was 56 percent. The learners, both men and women, increase in number by age groups—women in their sixties were the highest at 65 percent. The number of students who were enrolled in the University on Air was 66,730, of which males were 45 percent and females were 55 percent. As for age groups, the twenties were 27 percent, the thirties 23 percent, the forties 20 percent, the fifties 12 percent, and over sixty was 11 percent.

Student preferences by majors at the University on Air are as follows: Development and Education 26 percent, Life and Welfare 23 percent, Human study 19 percent, Society and Economy 13 percent, Industry and Technique 10 percent, Understanding Nature 10 percent. As for their academic backgrounds, high school graduates are 41 percent, junior college, university and graduate school 28 percent.

### *Content of Learning*

As for adult learners, the three highest concerns about the content of learning are hobbies, sports and health care. As categorized by age groups, the young highly prefer sports, vocational training, computers and languages. Their concerns are active training and self-development through vocational programs. To the contrary, the older adults highly prefer hobbies, culture, current topics, health care and social activities.

According to the answers collected by gender, men prefer to promote their vocational knowledge, skills or technique, academic knowledge and culture. To the contrary, women engaged in learning do so to promote their happiness, health, friendships and life-refreshment. We may just as well say men seek an immediate and direct effect from the programs while women have an inclination for indirect benefits produced by the programs.

In the past, it has been said that the enjoyment and promotion of culture were purely for amusement. However, the situation has changed with the increase in leisure hours on weekends for both school children and adults. The aims of adult learners are two fold. These days every citizen is expected to live an enriched life, aiming to develop his or her personality to the fullest and striving to achieve self-fulfillment. At the same time, adults have to participate in balanced, independent social and economic development. Adult learning should be modified and improved in response to recent changes in socio-economic and cultural development.

### *The Level of Learning*

In response to the question "What subjects did you learn most eagerly?" The answers were as follows: at the beginner's level, 22 percent; at a slightly more advanced level, 27 percent; at an even higher academic level, 17 percent; unable to judge 24 percent. From this it can be said that a variety of programs cover the beginners' level through higher academic levels.

The primary factors that prevent participation in learning activities are as follows: time 44 percent, location 23 percent, information 22 percent, expenditure 21 percent, and motivation 19 percent. The total number of the adults who take part in lectures and classes offered through Social Education was 73,710,000. The facilities and programs offered by the Social Education Board and other non-public cultural centers or services have rapidly increased in number in order to support the vast number of learners. Universities and other school-based education institutions have opened and offered their projects for the public to support. (25)

## Workers

The labor force participation rate was 64 percent in 1995, and the ratio of unemployment was 3 percent. The proportion of females to total employees was 39 percent in 1996. Japan's economy and society today is confronted with rapid changes in industrial structure driven by technological innovation and the progressive shift of company activities overseas. This trend has accelerated the urgency of training human resources capable of supporting business developments in high, value-added sectors and new areas of industry.

In order to promote the cultivation of advanced human resources capable of supporting high, value-added and new business areas, subsidies and other assistance is available for employer groups and other organizations that develop and implement systematic and planned education and training along the lines of the advanced human resource guidelines. The framework for human resources development are divided into two categories, in private enterprises and public sector.

### *In the Public Sector*

To promote occupational opportunities development for the unemployed or those wishing to change their jobs, and to provide pre-employment preparation for young persons, the National Government and prefectural governments have established public human resources development facilities, where efforts are being made to provide vocational training matched to the needs of the workers and enterprises.

In particular, to meet the challenges of technological innovations in recent times, microelectronics and office automation equipment are being updated, and efforts are being made to enrich the contents of training. The types and numbers of human resources development facilities are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Polytechnic College (31) | Long-terms advanced vocational training for graduates of upper secondary schools |
| Human Resources Development Centers (228) | Long-term vocational training for graduates from lower or upper secondary schools |
| Polytechnic Centers (65) | Short-term vocational training for the employed and the unemployed |

### *Private Enterprises*

To ensure that as many enterprises as possible the Ministry of Labor provides the following active measures for human resources development:

1. Enterprises are encouraged to appoint a human resources development promoter who plays a central role in human resource development programs.

2. At the Human Resources Development Service Center established in each prefecture, formation as well as advice and guidance concerning human resources development are provided to employers, by using the Ability Development Database System (ADDS).

3. The following system of grants has been created to help employers provide their workers with vocational training, in line with the concept of lifelong human resources development:

    i. Grants for Lifetime Development of Vocational Abilities

    ii. Grants for dispatching workers to authorized Vocational Training

### *Present Situation of Learning Through Workers' Self-learning*

According to the 1992 report, "The Learning of Working Life" by National Institute of Educational Research, the purposes of learning by workers of their own initiative was as follows: "development of ability directly useful for job" 51 percent, "acquisition of qualifications outside the company"28 percent, and, "expansion of personal far-sighted vision" 21 percent.

On the other hand, while the desire for learning as expressed in the statement "expansion of personal far-sighted vision" is 58 percent, "preparation for and acquisition of qualification for promotion within the company" remains at 19 percent. On the other hand, items surveyed such as, "acquisition for development of special ability or personal ability" was 50 percent, "to foster international ways of thinking, including foreign language study" was 47 percent. It shows that while workers wish to learn a wide range of content, in fact they continue to learn content that is relative to job performance. This indicates that workers' self-directed learning is executed entirely apart from the enterprise.

### *Needs of Vocational Training of Enterprise and Workers*

According to the above referenced survey, there is a great gap between what the enterprise provides and what the workers need. The workers' needs are "education in office automation," "design of quality of one's working life" and "fostering international ways of thinking which includes a foreign language skill." These are the big three. However, the most important three needs of enterprises are "education for work administration," "education for business," and "education of specialty skills." This means that enterprises think of education as an enterprise-group education whereas the workers seek personal learning.

In consideration of the fact that the most powerful motivation for developing occupational abilities is the desire of workers to better themselves, a system for supporting workers' self-learning has been strengthened as an integral part of lifelong human resources development. (26)

## The Older Adult

According to the Basic School Survey, conducted by The Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (1997), 51 percent of 60-year-olds have attended high school and only 10 percent have attended a junior college or university. After 1954, these percentages rose significantly. The ratio of those who go to high school (97 percent) and junior college or university (39 percent) has increased rapidly.

Those older citizens who were educated have a rich depth of knowledge, technique, and experience and pay attention to their health. They are totally different from the image of a weakened individual and their lifestyles are active. Some have the power to engage in a global market, with far-advanced skills and information for understanding the impact of globalization. Some are excellent in languages and computer skills. Retirement surely is a turning point in life, but we are now in the age of ageless, gender-free societies where men and women play many active roles in the fulfillment of life as it exists in Japan. (27)

### *Learning Activities of the Older Adult*

According to the 1996 report, "The Basic Survey on Social Life" by the Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency, Japanese Government, the ratio of the persons between the ages of 60–69 engaged in learning or research is 20 percent. And over 75 years of age is 4 percent. As for topics of learning or research, the 60–69 year old prefer "Art and Culture"-30 percent, "Current Topics"-25 percent and, "Home Economics and Housekeeping"-24 percent. The over 75 population sample prefer the following: "Arts and Culture"-33 percent, "Current Topics"-26 percent, "Humanity"-22 percent, "Home Economics and Housekeeping"-22 percent, and, "Medicine and Health Studies"-21 percent. The older adults in Japan love their traditional culture and moreover try to study current topics so that they might not fall behind the time.

### *Activities of Older Adults*

The ratio of the older adult, those over 60, who participated in any circles and, or groups is 63 percent of which the average class participation per person is 1.8 circles or groups. On the other hand, the typical responses to the question "why don't you participate?" are that some have family affairs to attend to (34.2 percent), and others are not sure of their physical strength and health. More than 70 percent of those people who want to spend their thriving lives through circle and/or group activities need to have active relations within their communities. The ratio of the older persons in Japan who participate in such group activities is higher than those of the United States and Germany.

The ratio of Japanese people who in 1997 had graduated from high school was 97 percent and from Junior College or university was 39 percent. These rates have increased in past years. The level of Japanese adult's learning require higher academic levels, not only high school level. Lifelong learning in response to the needs of the public. With the sharp decrease in the number of children 18 years of age and under, universities and all of higher education, have had to change their policies from the old system to new ones and accept adult students.

With the rapid development of computer technology and electronic networking, governments and local agencies, as well as public institutions including adult learning, are urged to engage in rapid and radical change. This technology can be effective for volunteer activities and networking. It can become a method of social participation for expressing one's own opinion. Learning that uses multimedia technology is at once both mutually engaging and communicative. The key for educational purposes are networking, and cooperative learning. Learning becomes a networking process and can provide access to various kinds of educational resources.

The introduction of multimedia provides the result of mutual learning and mutual teaching to the learners—a growing, shared knowledge base. But, it requires the learner to be self-motivated, self-assertive, and self-directed, and able to exercise good listening-skills and an independent mind to become self-confident learners.

On the other hand, as the process of decentralization occurs and more flexible administrative and management styles arise, former patterns of centralization of administration and administrative initiative are changing. The society is working together with the central government and local government, administrative officers and citizens as partners. Citizens are required to be more autonomous and actively participate in the local administration of decision-making processes. In order to participate in social, economic and cultural development of local administration, learning about administration and politics such as law, system, enclosure, administrative information, and, questioning the authorities are necessary learning points for citizens.

The Central Educational Council of the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture, and Sports published a report entitled "Japan's vision for Education towards the 21st Century." The concept of learning in the report was "the power to live in and create an affluent society." Needless to say, a healthy body is essential in order to survive in this changing society. This fundamental idea for learning should be realized as Japan approaches the 21st century.

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(14) Makoto Yamaguchi, Status of Women and Family Planning in Japan, Proceedings of Asian Regional Conference on Women, Population and Development, 1985, UNFPA.

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(17) Ibid

(18) Ibid

(19) Makoto Yamaguchi, Women's Participation in Society and Lifelong Education-Aims and Method of Re-Education, Courier No.34, Asian South-Pacific Bureau of Adult Education, 1985. Tokyo.

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(21) Makoto Yamaguchi, *Education and Culture in the Multi-ethnic Society*, 1992, Ryutsu Keizai Shakaigakubu Ronso, Ryutsu Keizai University Press, Ryugasaki, Japan.

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# Appendix A:

# Compendium of Contact Persons and Reference Material on Adult Learning

**Tarja Tikkanen**
**University of Jyvaskyla, Finland**

## I. IMMIGRANTS WITH LOW LANGUAGE SKILLS

### *Australia*

Chou Allender, S. and A. Davison. 1989. *Collingwood Refugee Youth Program Curriculum Document*. AMES Victoria. Melbourne Australia. – Key words: refugee youth and unaccompanied minors with minimal levels of English, formal education and literacy skills; curriculum integrating life, learning, pre-vocational and language skills; includes checklists, unit outlines; language-free maths placement instrument, teaching resources. – For AMES Victoria publications contact: Sales Officer: Publications AMES Victoria, GPO Box 4381, QQ, Melbourne Victoria Australia 3001. – Tel: 613.9926 4654, Fax: 613.9926 4600, Email: jmcsu@ames.vic.edu.au

Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia. 1996. *Lifelong Learning for All: Adult and Community Education and People of Non-English Speaking Backgrounds*. Australian Association of Adult and Community Education, Canberra, Australia. – Key words: perceptions of migrants and their advocates towards life-long learning; diverse needs of people from non-English speaking backgrounds in relation to adult learning opportunities; survey of research and program initiatives; access and equity framework for widening the participation of migrants in adult and community education. – Enquiries: AAACE, PO Box 308, Jamison Centre, ACT 2614, Australia; Fax: 616.251 7935; E-mail: aaace@netinfo.com.au

Huntington, M. 1992. *A Late Start: a literacy programme for non-literate adult migrants*. AMES Victoria. Melbourne Australia. – Key words: literacy program for adult Hmong students; characteristics and special needs of learners from non-literate backgrounds; course development and methodology; language experience approach; student and teacher evaluation. – Contact for publication: see AMES Victoria publications above.

McPherson, P. 1997. *Investigating Learner Outcomes for Clients with Special Needs in the Adult Migrant English Program*. Research Report Series 9. NCELTR. Sydney Australia. – Key words: indicators of special need including low levels of literacy in first language, low education background, age over 55 years, refugees and survivors of torture and trauma; factors to optimise learning experience and gains of learners with special needs; literature survey with focus on Australian practitioner studies; analysis of language outcomes. – Contact for publication: Publications Sales, NCELTR Publications, Building W6C Macquarie University, Sydney NSW Australia 2109. – Tel: 61.02.9850 7965; Fax: 61.02. 9850 7849; Email: salesnceltr@mq.edu.au; WWW NCELTR Home Page: http://www.nceltr.mq.edu.au

Purvis, D. *Case Studies in Literacy Development*. NSW AMES. Sydney, Australia. – Key words: how learners develop socially-empowering tools of literacy; maps the progress of three adult literacy learners - a Bosnian refugee, Vietnamese student and Polish nurse; analysis based on systemic functional linguistics; for language teachers, trainee teachers and researchers. – Contact for publication: see NCELTR and NSW AMES above.

Virgona, C. 1994. *Seeking Directions: training industry trainers in a multilingual workforce.* Teacher Resource Series 2. NCELTR, Sydney Australia. – Key words: workplace training - Australian historical perspective and current trends: 'train the trainer' model for trainers working with employees from non-English speaking backgrounds; details of the actual 'train the trainer' workshops - negotiating the curriculum, recognizing and responding to difference, presentation skills, developing literacy skills, simplifying texts, testing. – Contact for publication: see NCELTR and NSW AMES above.

***Belgium***

*Migranten en volwasseneneducatie / Immigrants and adult education* – 6 articles – 1994 – By different authors – Key words: adult education, immigrant. – Contact for publication: Ministry of the Flemish Community, Department of Education, Koningsstraat 71 - B 1000 Brussel. – Tel: 32.2.219 79 99; Fax: 32.2.219 77 73; E-mail: karl.musschoot@vlaanderen.be

***Finland***

Maahanmuuttajien ammatillinen koulutus. Suositus opetussuunnitelman perusteiksi *[The Vocational Education of Immigrants. Curriculum Recommendations.]* National Board of Education. 1993.

Aikuiset maahanmuuttajat I - Suositus aikuisten maahanmuuttajakoulutuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteiksi *[Adult immigrants I- Curriculum Recommendations for Migrant Training Courses]*. National Board of Education. 1993.

Aikuiset maahanmuuttajat II - Aikuisten maahanmuuttajien täydentävät yleissivistävät opinnot *[Adult Immigrants- Complementary general studies]*. National Board of Education. 1993.

Aikuiset maahanmuuttajat III- Suositus luku- ja kirjoitustaidottomien aikuisten maahanmuuttajien laajennetun alkuopetuksen opetussuunnitelmaksi *[Adult Immigrants III- Curriculum Recommendation for Training Courses of Illiterate Immigrants.]* National Board of Education. 1993.

Aikuiset maahanmuuttajat IV- Suomi toisena kielenä [*Adult Immigrants IV- Finnish as a Second Language*]. National Board of Education. 1993.

Aikuisten maahanmuuttajakoulutuksen tavoitteet ja periaatteet *[The Aims and Principles of Adult Migrant Training.]* National Board of Education. 1997. – Key words: immirants, curriculum, training.

– Contact person for all above publications: Mrs. Ulla Aunola, National Board of Education, P.O.Box 380 Fin-00531, Helsinki. – Tel. 358-9-7747 7697.

*The National Certificate - Finnish as a Foreign Language (Basic, Intermediate & Advanced Level)*; the test consists of five subtests: Reading comprehension, writing, structures & vocabulary, listening comprehension, and speaking. – Key words: Finnish as a foreign language, language testing, language proficiency. – Contact person: Ms. Mirja Tarnanen, Centre for Applied Language Studies, University of Jyväskylä, PL 35, 40351, Jyväskylä, Finland. – Tel. 358-14-603 545; E-mail: tarnanen@cc.jyu.fi

Matinheikki-Kokko, K. 1997. *Challenges in working in cross-cultural environment. Principles and practice of immigrant settlement in Finland.* Jyväskylä Studies in Education, Pscyhology and Social Research 131. University of Jyväskylä. – Key words: Finland; awareness context, cross-cultural interaction, migrant refugees, welfare, councelling. – Contact person & general information about the migrant education and studies in Finland: Dr. Kaija Matinheikki-Kokko, Clinic for Multicultural Councelling, University of Jyväskylä, P.O.Box 35, FIN-40351 Jyväskylä. – Tel: 358-14-60 1609; Fax: 358-14-60 1621; E-mail: matinhei@campus.jyu.fi

### *United States*

Gillespie, M.K. 1996. *Learning to work in a new land: A review and sourcebook for vocational and Workplace ESL.* Center for Applied Linguistics: Washington, D.C. – Key Words Description: U.S.; adult workplace ESL, vocational ESL, funding policy, immigration statistics, workplace and ESL stakeholders, needs assessment, curriculum development, program evaluation. – Order from: Contact Toya Lynch, Center for Applied Linguistics, 118 22nd Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037-1214. – For further information: Miriam Burt, Tel: 202 4292 ext. 256; Fax 202 659-5641; Email: miriam@cal.org.

## II. ADULTS WITH LOW LEVELS OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

### *Australia*

Burns, A, and S. Hood (Eds). 1997. *Critical literacy: investigating teaching practices.* National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research, Macquarie University (NCELTR). Sydney Australia. – Key words: theoretical discussion of critical literacy; classroom based action research by literacy teachers; strategies for teaching critical literacy at beginner, intermediate and advanced levels; suggested materials and resources. – For NCELTR and NSW AMES publications contact: Publications Sales, NCELTR Publications, Building W6C Macquarie University, Sydney NSW Australia 2109. – Tel: +61 (02) 9850 7965; Fax: +61 (02) 9850 7849; Email: salesnceltr@mq.edu.au; WWW NCELTR Home Page: http://www.nceltr.mq.edu.au

Corbel, C. 1997. *Online Literacy for Language and Literacy Teachers: a practical course for teachers.* NCELTR. Sydney Australia. – Key words: treats computing as a form of literacy; assists teachers transfer their print skills to electronic texts and develop new online literacy skills; uses examples from everyday business applications; kit designed for self access; book + disk in Windows 95, Word 3.1, Office 97 and Macintosh. – Contact for publication: see NCELTR and NSW AMES above.

Herbert, P. and J. McFeeter (Eds). 1994. *Classroom Considerations: a practical guide to teaching beginning language and literacy.* AMES Victoria, Melbourne Australia. – Key words: adult English language learners with minimal literacy in first language and low levels of formal education; classroom based action research; practical guide for teachers; learning how to learn strategies; integrated approach to language and literacy; six articles by practicing teachers. – Contact for publication: Sales Officer: Publications AMES Victoria, GPO Box 4381, QQ, Melbourne Victoria Australia 3001. – Tel: +613 9926 4654, Fax: +613 9926 4600, Email: jmcsu@ames.vic.edu.au

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Ramm, J. 1993. Learners with Minimal Formal Education. AMES Victoria. Melbourne Australia. – Key words: research report; issues of pathways for second language learners with minimal formal education; identifies learning styles and appropriate teaching methodology for target group. – Contact for publication: see AMES Victoria publications above.

Virgona, C. 1994. *Seeking Directions: training industry trainers in a multilingual workforce.* Teacher Resource Series 2. NCELTR, Sydney Australia. – Key words: workplace training - Australian historical perspective and current trends; 'train the trainer' model for trainers working with employees from non-English speaking backgrounds; details of the actual 'train the trainer' workshops - negotiating the curriculum, recognizing and responding to difference, presentation skills, developing literacy skills, simplifying texts, testing. – Contact for publication: see NCELTR and NSW AMES above.

***Belgium***

Adams, A. 1985. Activering van maatschappelijk en educatief achtergestelde groepen via opbouwwerk en basis educatie / Activation of social and educational subordinated groups via social work and basic education for adults. – Article – Key words: basic education for adults

De Jong, L. 1993. Basiseducatie, wat is dat eigenlijk? / Basic education for adults, what exactly does it mean? – Article – Key words: basic education for adults

Van Damme, D. 1990-91. *Alfabetisering en onderwijs: analfabetisme in een gescholariseerde samenleving: einde van het pedagogisch optimisme? / Illiteracy and education: illiteracy in a trained society: end of the pedagogic optimism?* – Article – Key words: illiteracy, basic education for adults

– Contact for above publications: Ministry of the Flemish Community, Department of Education, Koningsstraat 71 - B 1000 Brussel. – Tel: 32.2.219 79 99; Fax: 32.2.219 77 73; E-mail: karl.musschoot@vlaanderen.be

***Finland***

Kakkuri, I. 1995. *Spelling, reading comprehension and functional writing difficulties among Finnish adult vocational students.* In A. Kauppi, S. Kontiainen, K. Nurmi, J. Tuomisto & T. Vaherva (Eds.) Adult learning in a cultural context - Adult education research in Finland. Adult Education Society in Finland. University of Helsinki, Lahti Research and Training Centre. – Key words description: the difficulties that Finnish adult vocational students have in spelling, functional writing and reading comprehension. Two different approaches (clinical-inferential and empirical) of classification of the same data (n=1196), age-range 20-60. Spelling, functional writing and reading comprehension among adult vocational students are composed of different skill patterns. – Order from: University of Helsinki; Lahti Research and Training Centre. – Fax: 358 18 89220219; E-mail: tainkinen2@latkk.hel.fi

– *Comment:* There is very little research on adults' reading and writing problems in Finland and the educational innovations are some local attempts trying to solve the problem of low basic skills among adult learners. – Further contacts: Mrs. Irma Kakkuri, University of Jyväskylä, Department of Special Education, P.O. Box 35, FIN-40351 Jyväskylä, Finland. – Tel. 358 14 601 631; Fax. 358 14 601 621; E-mail: kakkuri@campus.jyu.fi

### *Switzerland*

Schraeder-Naef Regula et al. 1997. *Warum Erwachsene (nicht) lernen (Why Adults (do not) Learn) Zum Lern- und Weiterbildungsverhalten Erwachsener in der Schweiz.* Verlag Ruegger AG, Chur and Zurich. – Contact: Regula Schraeder-Naef, Department of Adult Education, Ministry of Education, Walchestr. 21, CH 8090 Zurich, – Tel: 41.1.259 53 82; Fax: 41.1.259 51 30; E-mail Regula.Schraeder@ed.zh.admin.ch – Key Words: Switzerland; National Research Programme on Education; 140 Biographical Interviews with Participants and Non-participants in Adult Education; Adults with Low Levels of Educational Attainment.

### *United Kingdom*

Department for Education and Employment: *Pre-Vocational & Basic Skills Consultation.* 1996 (September). – Key Words Description: United Kingdom; report of a consultation group involving Government Department and external experts, participation of adults in training, long-term unemployed, low levels of literacy, low levels of numeracy, funding mechanisms. – Order and information on the report from Phil Morgan, Department of Education and Employment, Room W8d, Moorfoot, Sheffield, S1 4PQ, United Kingdom. – Tel: 00 44 114 259 3323; Fax: 00 44 114 259 3591; E-mail: phil.morgan@dfee.gov.uk

ECOTEC Ltd. *Evaluation of the Pre-Vocational Pilots: Case Studies.* – Key Words Description: United Kingdom; report on implementation of pilots aimed at helping unemployed adults, qualitative survey involving nine pilots areas, participation of adults in training, long-term unemployed, low levels of literacy, low levels of numeracy, low self-esteem, pre-vocational training. – Order from: Department of Education and Employment, SAR 1, Room W601, Moorfoot, Sheffield, S1 4PQ, United Kingdom. – Further information: Chris Anderson, Tel: 00 44 114 259 4010; Fax: 00 44 114 259 3142; E-mail: christopher.anderson@dfee.gov.uk

### *United States*

Sarmiento, A.R., & Kay, A. 1990 (Revised edition June 1998). *Worker-Centered Learning: A Union Guide to Workplace Literacy.* AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute, Washington, DC. – Key words: adult and workforce literacy; the role of unions, employers, and joint labor-management initiatives in worker education and job-related training; skills development, work redesign, and technology; critique of "literacy audits;" literacy testing and assessment; learner-centered program design. – Further contacts: To obtain copy, contact AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute, 815-16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006. To contact authors: AFL-CIO Education Department, 815-16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006. – Tel. 202 - 637-5144; Fax 202 - 508-6987; E-mail tsarmien@aflcio.org.

Schore, L., Atkin, J & Taub, E. 1995. *A Union Approach to Workplace Education.* Eugene, Oregon: Labor Education and Research Center. – Key Words Description: U.S.; union-based workplace education programs, workplace education, adult literacy, workplace education program development, program evaluation, union agenda for workplace education, worker-centered learning. – Order from: Labor Education and Research Center, 1289 University of Oregon, Eugene OR. 97403-1289. – Tel: 541 346-5054.

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## III. OLDER ADULTS

### *Finland*

Lahn, L., Tikkanen, T., van der Hejden, B. & Thijssen, J. 1998 (available in April). *Competence and training of older workers*. EuroWork Age. Driekant. Supported by DG-V, European Commission, Brussels. – Key Words Description: EU countries and Norway; national and company policies and practice in job-related adult education and training, methodological aspects in in-service and institutional training of older workers, conclusions and recommendations for enhancing reintegration of older workers in the labor market through focusing on occupational competence and training; survey of cases of companies from various occupational sectors; age-range 40-65 years; employed and unemployed older workers; job-related training in institutional and HRD settings, learning and competence on individual level. – Further contacts: Dr. Leif C. Lahn, Work Research Institute, P.O.Box 8171 Dep., N-0034 Oslo, Norway. - Tel. 47.22.46 16 70; Fax: 47.22.56 89 18; E-mail: LL@afi-wri.no, or Senior Researcher Tarja Tikkanen, Department of Education, University of Jyväskylä, P.O.Box 35, FIN-40351 Jyväskylä, Finland. - Tel 358.14.60 16 98; Fax 358.14.60 16 61; E-mail tikkanen@campus.jyu.fi – Order from: Jumbo Klercq, Driekant Education and Consultancy, Postbus 1, 6570 AA Berg en Dal, The Netherlands. – Tel: 31.24.684 17 44, Fax: 31.24.684 26 61, E-mail: JumboKlercq@compuserve.com

Tikkanen, T. (forthcoming) *The age-participation relationship revised: Focus on older adults*. Adult Education Quarterly. – Key Words: Finland; participation in training, training of older workers, ageism, methods in participation research; data from the National Finnish Adult Education Survey 1990 (n=1097); age-range 40-65 years; employees; wide range of institutional adult education programmes and courses.

Tikkanen, T. (forthcoming). *Perspectives on the professional competence of older workers*. In K. Percy (Ed.) Positive ageing. Essays in educational and social gerontology. Aldershot: Ashgate. – Key words: professional competence, change-oriented competence, knowledge and learning; review article.

Tikkanen, T. 1998 (available in May). *Learning and education of older workers. Lifelong learning at the margin*. Jyväskylä Studies in Education, Pscyhology and Social Research. University of Jyväskylä. Finland. – Key words: older workers, lifelong learning, participation in education and training, working life, experience-based learning and competence. – Further contacts: Tarja Tikkanen, Department of Education, University of Jyväskylä, P.O.Box 35, FIN-40351 Jyväskylä, Finland. – Tel 358.14.60 16 98; Fax 358.14. 60 16 61; E-mail tikkanen@campus.jyu.fi

Tikkanen, T., Paloniemi, S. & Penttinen, A. (forthcoming) *Interest and participation in adult education among ageing workers*. In K. Percy (Ed.) Researching Older Learners: Issues, Experience and Possibilities. Lancaster University, Lancaster, U.K. – Key words: Finland; participation in training among women and men, attitudes toward adult education, training of older workers; data from the National Finnish Adult Education Survey 1990 (n=1097); age-range 40-65 years; employees; wide range of institutional adult education programmes and courses.

Tikkanen, T., Valkeavaara, T. & Lunde, Å. 1996. *Ageing work force and life-long learning: an organizational perspective*. Education and Ageing 11(2), 100-114. – Key words: Finland, Norway; older workers, age-discrimination, age-aware human resource management (AHRM); describes an age-aware educational intervention program applied in Norwegian companies.

## IV. GENERAL ADULT EDUCATION & VOCATIONAL TRAINING

### *Belgium*

*De school staat niet alleen / The school stands not alone.* 1994. – Book – Koning Boudewijn Stichting. – Key words: education policy

Dewulf, L. & Lowyck, J. 1994. *Modulair onderwijs: een strategie voor volwassen cursisten / Modular education: a strategy for adults.* – Book – Key words: adult education, modular training

*Educatie '92 / Education '92.* – 1992. – Research-report – Key words: continuing education, supply of education

Hinnekint, H. 1991. *Naar een samenhangend beleid voor de volwasseneneducatie? / Towards a coherent policy for adult education?* – Book – Key words: adult education, education policy

Hinnekint, H. 1997. *Bakens voor de toekomst van het volwassenenonderwijs / Beacons for the future of adult education.* – Article – Key words: adult education

Leirman, W. 1991. *Permanente vorming: van concept tot beleids- en praktijkmodel / Continuing education: from draft to policy- and practice-model.* – Article – Key words: policy, continuing education

Leirman, W., Faché, W. & Gehre, G. 1991. *Vlaandëren leert / Flanders is learning.* – Research-report – Hoger Instituut voor de Arbeid (University of Leuven) – Key words: structure adult education

Leirman, W, Cockx, F., De Smet, P. & Gehre, G. 1996 *Regionaal Educatief overleg (Coördinatie en planning in de volwasseneneducatie) /Regional educative consultation (Co-ordination and planning in adult education)* – Research report – Key words: adult education, networks

Perquy, J. 1997. *Van levenslang leren naar lerende organisatie / From lifelong learning to learning organization* – Article – Key words: adult education, basic education for adults, vocational training, training, social work

Van Damme, D. 1995. Uitdagingen voor het overheidsbeleid inzake permanente educatie - Challenges for policy makers about continuing education. – Article – Key words: adult education, policy, continuing education

Van Damme, D. & Legiest, E. 1997. Participatie van Vlaamse volwassenen aan volwasseneneducatie /Participation of Flemish adults to adult education – Research-report – Key words: adult education, basic education for adults

– Contact for all publications: Ministry of the Flemish Community, Department of Education, Koningsstraat 71 - B 1000 Brussel. – Tel: 32.2.219 79 99; Fax: 32.2.219 77 73; E-mail: karl.musschoot@vlaanderen.be

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*Czech Republic*

Beneš, M. 1997. *Úvod do andragogiky / Introduction to Adult Education, Charles University in Prague* – Key words: adult education, role and goals of adult education.

Boèková, V. 1988. *Kapitoly z teorie školství a vzdìlávání dospìlých / Chapters from Theory of Education and Adult Learning*, Palackého University, Prague – Key words: education and learning for adult.

Palán, Z. 1997. *Výkladový slovnik vzdìlávání dospìlých / Explaining Dictionary of Adult Learning*, Ministry of Education, Prague – Key words: conceptions and categories of adult education.

Pavlík, O. 1996. *Program vzdìlávání dospìlých v èeské republice / Programme of Adult Learning in the Czech Republic*, AJAK Prague – Key words: system of adult education, development, changes, goals and problems.

Šimek, D. 1996. *Vybrané problémy teorie výchovy dospìlých / Selected Theoretical Problems of Adult Learning*, Palackého University, Prague – Key words: education and training of adults, theory and experience.

- No contact information given.

*Japan*

Makoto Yamaguchi. 1998 (under preparation). *Social Change and Adult Education in Japan after World War II.* CD-ROM – Key Words: Japan; social change, adult learning. – Order: Kirihara Com Co. – Tel: 81-3-3324-8811; Fax: 81-3324-8011; E-mail: kands@interlink.or.jp or y-makoto@mxm.meshnet.or.jp

*Priorities and Prospects for a Lifelong Society increasing Diversification and sophistication.* 1997. Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture, Japanese Government Policies in Education, Science, Sports and Culture 1996. Printing Bureau, The Ministry of Finance, Tokyo. – Key Words: Japan, policies, lifelong learning – Order: Government Publication Service Centre, – Tel: 81-3-3504-3885; Fax: 81-3-3504-3999; E-mail: jenkan@ns1gov-book.or.jp

*Remaking Universities continuing Reform of Higher Education.* 1996. Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture, Japanese Government Policies in Education, Science, Sports and Culture 1995. Printing Bureau, The Ministry of Finance, Tokyo. – Key Words: Japan, HigherEdu, Reform. – Order: Government Publication Service Centre. – Tel: 81-3-3504-3885; Fax: 81-3-3504-3889; E-mail: jenkan@ns1gov-book.or.jp

*Syougaigakushu no Kenkyu (Studies on Lifelong Learning).* 1993. National Institute for Educational Research. – Key Words: Japan Research LifelongEdu. – Order: MTEI Publishing Co. – Tel: 81-3-3228-6011; Fax: 81-3-3228-4047

## *Norway*

Nordhus, L. 1993. Kvalitet i arbeidsmarkedsopplæring gjennom helhetslæring (Quality in Labour Market Training – A Holistic Perspectiv. Report on the project: Future Jobs for Women). The Directorate of Labour, Oslo. – Key Words: Norway; labor market training; adult women; pedagogical principles; vocational training; personal development; co-operation between schools; labor service and enterprises. – Further contacts: Lillebit Nordhus. Tel. 47 22 563 001 or Gerd Sjøstrøm, The Directorate of Labour, Oslo, Norway. Tel. 47 22 942 442.

Sand, F. Læring i kunnskapssamfunnets arbeidsliv. En lærebok i læring (Learning in the Working Life of the Knowledge Society. A Manual on Learning.) The College of Akershus, Oslo. – Key Words: Norway; learning in and for the knowledge society; how to produce your own knowledge; the role of the trainer; pedagogical principles; project work; training of adults/unemployed. – Further contacts: Finn Sand. Cell phone: 920 67 482, Fax: 47 22 28 38 52, E-mail: Finn.Sand@hiak.no.

## *United Kingdom*

Beinart, S. & Smith, P. 1998. *National Adult Learning Survey (NALS) 1997.* Social and Community Planning Research, Research Report 49/1998, DfEE, London. – Key words: England and Wales; adult participation, learning, learners and non-learners; face-to-face interview surveys (n<5500); age-range16-69 years; base-line information about all aspects of learning relevant to the development of lifelong learning policy. – Order from: DfEE Publications, PO Box 5050, Sudbury, Suffolk, CO10 6ZQ. – Contact person: Janet Rice, DfEE, W613b, Moorfoot, Sheffield, S1 4PQ. Tel: 0114 259 4194. Fax: 0114 259 3142. E-mail janet.rice@dfee.gov.uk.

Danau D. & Sommerlad E. 1995. (Eds) *Work Based Learning:Findings, Policy Issues, and an Agenda for Future Actions.* – Key words description: European Centre for Work and Society and Tavistock Institute in London for European Commission's DG XXII. Focused on innovation in WBL; literature and documentary review; key-actor interviews; thematic studies and case examples; rationales for WBL; what it is; effective implementation; policy issues and implications; R&D and action agenda. Workforce focus but includes differential access and social exclusion issues. – Order from: The European Centre for Work and Society, PO Box 3073, NL-6202 NB Maastricht. – Tel 31-43-321.67.24; Fax 31-43-325.57.12; E-mail GENERAL@ECWS.NL

*Evaluation of the Pre-Vocational Pilots: Case Studies.* ECOTEC Ltd. – Key Words Description: United Kingdom; report on implementation of pilots aimed at helping unemployed adults, qualitative survey involving nine pilots areas, participation of adults in training, long-term unemployed, low levels of literacy, low levels of numeracy, low self-esteem, pre-vocational training. – Order from: Department of Education and Employment, SAR 1, Room W601, Moorfoot, Sheffield, S1 4PQ, United Kingdom. – Further information: Chris Anderson, Tel: 00 44 114 259 4010; Fax: 00 44 114 259 3142; E-mail: christopher.anderson@dfee.gov.uk

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*Employment Training and Employment Action: An evaluation by the matched comparison method.* Policy Studies Institute. – Key Words Description: United Kingdom; survey of the effect of programmes for long-term unemployed adults by matching participants to non-participants, participation of adults in training, long-term unemployed, increased chance of getting jobs, effect of employer placements, matched comparison study, impact of training programmes. – Order from Department of Education and Employment, SAR 1, Room W601, Moorfoot, Sheffield, S1 4PQ, United Kingdom. – Further information: Chris Anderson. – Tel: 00 44 114 259 4010; Fax: 00 44 114 259 3142; E-mail: christopher.anderson@dfee.gov.uk

Firth, D. & Goffey, L. 1996. *Individual Commitment: Tracking Learners' Decision Making.* Arena Research and Planning, 1996 Research Studies 6, DfEE, London. – Key words: England; learners, decision-making, vocational learning; face-to-face interviews; over 18 months follow-up; developed a classification, which allocated individuals' approaches into four types: personal, utopian, qualification or need. – Order from: DfEE Publications, PO Box 5050, Sudbury, Suffolk, CO10 6ZQ. – Contact person: Janet Rice, DfEE, W613b, Moorfoot, Sheffield, S1 4PQ. Tel: 0114 259 4194. Fax: 0114 259 3142. E-mail janet.rice@dfee.gov.uk.

Hand, A. Gambles, J. & E. Cooper, E. 1994. *Individual Commitment To Learning: Individuals' Decision Making About 'Lifetime Learning'.* Quadrangle Consulting Ltd, Research Series No. 42/1994, DfEE, London. – Key words: England; learners, decision-making; face-to-face interviews, current or recent learning involvement; identifies important factors in learning experiences and decisions about learning; case studies of four 'local learning systems' in order to discover how factors interact with the learning system in a particular area. – Order from: DfEE Publications, PO Box 5050, Sudbury, Suffolk, CO10 6ZQ. – Contact person: Janet Rice, DfEE, W613b, Moorfoot, Sheffield, S1 4PQ. Tel: 0114 259 4194. Fax: 0114 259 3142. E-mail janet.rice@dfee.gov.uk.

McCollom, A. & Calder, J. 1995. *The Learning Effectiveness Of Open And Flexible Learning In Vocational Education: A Literature Review And Annotated Bibliography.* Institute of educational Technology, Open University, Research Series No. 68/1995, DfEE, London. – Key words: Open learning, vocational education, effectiveness, methods; review comparing the learning effectiveness of open and flexible learning with equivalent traditional mode programmes. – Order from: DfEE Publications, PO Box 5050, Sudbury, Suffolk, CO10 6ZQ. – Contact person: Janet Rice, DfEE, W613b, Moorfoot, Sheffield, S1 4PQ. Tel: 0114 259 4194. Fax: 0114 259 3142. E-mail janet.rice@dfee.gov.uk.

*The Learning Age: a renaissance for a new Britain.* 1998, February. (UK Government - Cm 3790). The Stationery Office, London. – Key Words Description: England and United Kingdom; Green Paper (ie, consultative document) setting out Government policies and proposals to promote and support lifelong learning, including: the University for Industry; individual learning accounts; learning in the workplace (eg, Investors in People, small and medium-sized enterprises); further, higher and adult education; learning in the community; basic skills; qualifications; education and training for young people. – Order from: The Stationery Office, PO Box 276, London, SW8 5DT, Tel. 44 171 873 9090, Fax. 44 171 873 8200. – General Contact (not for orders): Val Hewson, Department for Education and Employment, IL1, Room E8, Moorfoot, Sheffield, S1 4PQ, Tel. 44 114 259 4689, Fax. 44 114 259 4148 E-mail: Val.Hewson@dfee.gov.uk.

Tremlett, N. & Park, A. 1995. *Individual Commitment to Learning: Comparative Findings from the Surveys of Individuals', Employers' and Providers' Attitudes.* Research Series No 68, Sheffield, Department of Education and Employment. – Key words description: UK; Data and commentary using main findings from 1993 and 1994 high response rate surveys of adults (aged 16 to 54), employers and providers concerning factors which motivate learning and barriers to learning. Attempts to disentangle motivational from access factors. Details of 67 other DfEE research reports since 1992, almost one third addressing adult vocational learning. ISBN 0 86392 4727. – Order from Research Strategy Branch, Department for Education and Employment, Moorfoot, Sheffield. S1 4PO. – Tel 44-114-259-3932.

*United States*

Chenven, L & Hampton, C. 1997. *Portfolio Assessment: Celebrating Achievement in Workplace Education.* Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland State Department of Education, AELS, DCTAL – (video and training manual) – Key Words Description: U.S.; assessment, portfolios, workplace literacy education, worker-centered learning, staff development for portfolio assessment, self assessment, stakeholders in workplace education, adult literacy, product of the Labor Education Achievement Program (a National Workplace Literacy Project) project on portfolio assessment in workplace education. – Order from: Maryland Adult Literacy Resource Center, UMBC, Education Dept., 1000 Hilltop Circle, Baltimore, MD 21250. – Tel: 410 455-6725; Fax 410 455-1139; E-mail: ira @umbc.edu. For international requests, send $9.00 for mailing and handling.

Gillespie, M.K. 1996. *Learning to work in a new land: A review and sourcebook for vocational and Workplace ESL.* Center for Applied Linguistics: Washington, D.C. – Key Words Description: U.S.; adult workplace ESL, vocational ESL, funding policy, immigration statistics, workplace and ESL stakeholders, needs assessment, curriculum development, program evaluation. – Order from: Contact Toya Lynch, Center for Applied Linguistics, 118 22nd Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037-1214. – For further information: Miriam Burt, Tel: 202 4292 ext. 256; Fax 202 659-5641; Email: miriam@cal.org.

Sarmiento, A.R., & Kay, A. 1990 (Revised edition June 1998). *Worker-Centered Learning: A Union Guide to Workplace Literacy.* AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute, Washington, DC. – Key words: adult and workforce literacy; the role of unions, employers, and joint labor-management initiatives in worker education and job-related training; skills development, work redesign, and technology; critique of "literacy audits;" literacy testing and assessment; learner-centered program design. – Further contacts: To obtain copy, contact AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute, 815-16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006. To contact authors: AFL-CIO Education Department, 815-16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006. – Tel. 202 - 637-5144; Fax 202 - 508-6987; E-mail tsarmien@aflcio.org.

Schore, L., Atkin, J & Taub, E. 1995. *A Union Approach to Workplace Education.* Eugene, Oregon: Labor Education and Research Center. – Key Words Description: U.S.; union-based workplace education programs, workplace education, adult literacy, workplace education program development, program evaluation, union agenda for workplace education, worker-centered learning. – Order from: Labor Education and Research Center, 1289 University of Oregon, Eugene OR. 97403-1289. – Tel: 541 346-5054.

## V. LEARNING RESOURCES

### *Immigrants & adults with low levels of educational attainment - Australia*

Cholewa, S. and S. M. Wu. 1997. *Australian Snapshots*. AMES Victoria. Melbourne Australia. – Key words: learning package comprising language textbook and audio cassette; for pre-intermediate level learners of English; practical situations and topics relating to settlement for recently arrived migrants: designed for students working independently; also useful resource for teachers with teacher's notes and answer key. – Contact for publication: see AMES Victoria publications above.

Christie, J. 1998. *The Literacy Workbook*. NSW AMES, Sydney Australia. – Key words: workbook and audio cassette; introduction to basic literacy and numeracy for adult learners who need a slow-paced course and individual exercises, with emphasis on recycling and consolidation of learning. – Contact for publication: Publications Sales, NCELTR Publications, Building W6C Macquarie University, Sydney NSW Australia 2109. – Tel: 61.02.9850 7965; Fax: 61.02.9850 7849; Email: salesnceltr@mq.edu.au; WWW NCELTR Home Page: http://www.nceltr.mq.edu.au

De Neef, J. 1995. *Short Stories from the Workplace*. English in the Workplace Flexible Learning Series. AMES Victoria. Melbourne Australia. – Key words: workbook and cassette based on 14 stories set in a manufacturing company; workplace issues include occupational health and safety, work teams, quality assurance, enterprise bargaining, sexual harassment; activities to develop reading and basic literacy skills; incorporates distance learning / self paced instructional design. – Contact for publication: see AMES Victoria publications above.

Jackson, E. *Non-language Outcomes: Activities and Resources*. NSW AMES/ NCELTR. Sydney Australia. – Key words: practical teacher's guide; for beginner level learners; how to incorporate the development of learning into activities to teach spoken and written English; detailed teaching notes and sequences of activities. – Contact for publication: see NCELTR and NSW AMES above.

Lukin, A. and L. Ross. 1997. *The Numeracy Handbook: a resource for literacy and numeracy teachers*. NSW AMES / NCELTR. Sydney Australia. – Key words: practical guide for teaching numeracy and for integrating numeracy and literacy; issues in defining and teaching numeracy; numeracy in the workplace; suggestions for activities at three levels of difficulty; professional development activities for teachers. – Contact for publication: see NCELTR and NSW AMES above.

Mullen, D. 1996. *Everyday Reading Skills: Elementary*. Oxford University Press. Melbourne Australia. — Key words: student workbook, real life reading activities for beginning level English as a Second Language learners; suitable for young adults onwards, also English-speaking adult literacy and basic education students; 20 graded units of work.

Polites, O. 1995. *Working Together*. English in the Workplace Flexible Learning Series. AMES Victoria, Melbourne Australia. – Key words: workbook and three audio cassettes for learners with pre-intermediate oral and reading skills and basic writing skills; units focus on participation at work, working in teams and with other people, and taking part in meetings; incorporates distance learning / self paced instructional design. – Contact for publication: see AMES Victoria publications above.

Protea Textware. 1995. *The Alphabet: an interactive multimedia computer program for adult language and literacy learners*. Protea Textware, Melbourne Australia. – Key words: teaches sight and sound recognition of the English alphabet, upper and lower case matching, keyboard familiarity, basic spelling; 5 modules with 6 units graded in complexity; 30 exercises, suitable for self-paced / home-based learning. – Enquiries: P.O. Box 49 Hurstbridge, Victoria, Australia 3099. – Tel: 613 - 714 8644; Fax: 613 - 714 8644

Protea Textware. 1996. *The Interactive Picture Dictionary: an interactive multimedia computer program for adult language and literacy learners*. Protea Textware, Melbourne Australia. – Key words: teaches and tests spelling and vocabulary; over 800 key words arranged in main groups and topics; graded spelling activities with instant feedback; authorable to allow teachers to add words with context sentences. – Enquiries: P.O. Box 49 Hurstbridge, Victoria, Australia 3099. – Tel: 613 - 714 8644; Fax: 613 - 714 8644

Ramm, J. 1992, 1995. *Signposts - Access material for beginning ESL learners*. AMES Victoria, Melbourne Australia. – Key words: teacher resource for language learners with minimal formal education; curriculum and materials development guidelines; ten units of classroom activities, exercises / worksheets; sequential development of literacy skills and learning strategies; suggested program for a ten week course. – Contact for publication: see AMES Victoria publications above.

## VI. CONTACT ADDRESSES

### *Adult education - Belgium*

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Huub Hinnekint, Director, Centrum voor Andragogisch onderzoek vzw - Liedtsstraat 27-29 - B 1030 Brussel, Belgium. – Tel.: +32 2 240 95 17; Fax: +32 2 242 26 10

University of Gent, Onderzoekseenheid volwasseneneducatie - H. Dunantlaan 2 - B 9000 Gent, Belgium. – Tel.: +32 9 264 62 81; Fax: +32 9 264 62 93

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*Statistics Canada*

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Jean Pignal, International Study Manager - IALS, Special Surveys Division – Statistics Canada, 5-D7, Jean Talon Building, Tunney's Pasture, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0T6. – Tel: 613.951 3317; Fax: 613.951 0562; E-mail: pignjea@statcan.ca

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**SASKATCHEWAN** - Donna Woloshyn, Provincial Literacy Manager, Special Needs Program Unit - Saskatchewan Post-Secondary Education and Skills Training - Room 129, 3085 Albert Street, Regina, Sakatchewan S4P 3V7. – Tel: (306) 787-2513 ; Fax: (306) 787-7182; E-mail: dwoloshyn@sasked.gov.sk.ca

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**BRITISH COLUMBIA** - Audrey M. Thomas, Project Officer, Developmental Programs, Colleges and Program Planning Branch - **Ministry of Education, Skills and Training** - 2nd Floor 835 Humboldt Street ( St. Ann's Academy), P.O. Box 9877 STN PROV GOVT, Victoria, B.C. V8W 9T6. Tel: (250) 387-6174; Fax: (250) 952-6110; E-Mail: audrey.thomas@gems5.gov.bc.ca

**NORTHWEST TERRITORIES** - Literacy and Adult Education, Colleges and Continuing Education - **Department of Education, Culture and Employment** - P.O. Box 1320, Yellowknife, N.W.T. X1A 2L9. Tel: (867) 920-3482; Fax: (867) 873-0237

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- **Literacy Volunteers of Quebec** - c/o Laurentian Literacy Council, Danielle Hay, P.O. Box 401. 548 Main Street, Lachute, Quebec J8H 3X9. Tel: (514) 562-3719; Fax: (514) 562-8471

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***Key Web Site Addresses - Canada***

*National Literacy Secretariat* – http://www.nald.ca/nls.htm

*Human Resources Development Canada* – http://www.hrdc-drch.gc.ca

*National Adult Literacy Database* – http://www.nald.ca

*Alphacom* – http://alphacom.gbrownc.on.ca/

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## VII. INDEX BY AUTHOR

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## VIII. INSTRUCTIONS ON SUBMISSION OF ADDITIONAL ENTRIES

### Compendium of Contact Persons and Reference Material on Adult Learning

You are invited to submit brief entries with information on reports, curricula, handbooks, programme guides, videos, and CD/ROMs related to issues that arise in adult learning, that you think would be useful to other participants. You may send the material by post or e-mail (see instructions below), or give them to Deborah Whedon of the OECD Secretariat at the conference in Washington.

No extra resources are being made available to prepare this Compendium. In order to ensure that the task stays manageable, please follow the format below in submitting your entries.

*Content of entries* (in English or French)

1. Bibliographic information for published material (title (for titles not in English or French, include title in original language and English or French translation of title); date; publisher and city; address for ordering, if appropriate);
2. Contact information for obtaining material or reports that are not available from publishers (address, telephone number, fax number, e-mail address, Web site address);
3. Contact information for person who can be contacted for further follow up (address, telephone number, fax number, e-mail address, Web site address);
4. Short description using Key Words; it should include mention of country; topics addressed; source of information (survey information, project or programme information, administrative information, e.g.); ages covered; statuses covered (employment, unemployment, out of labour force, leisure, retirement); institutional settings covered (home, workplace, structured adult education programme, community based programme, e.g.)

***Electronic format:*** WORD or Word Perfect; submit by e-mail, or on diskette. If you send diskettes, please notify us by e-mail, telefax, or telephone when the diskette is being sent.

***Send to:*** Ms. Tarja Tikkanen -- tel +358 14 60 16 98; fax +358 14 60 16 61; e-mail
tikkanen@campus.jyu.fi

Copy to: Ms. Deborah Whedon of the OECD -- tel +33 145 24 16 51; fax +33 145 24 90 98;
e-mail Deborah.Whedon@oecd.org

***Deadline:*** Please send material no later than 30 April.

## IX. INSTRUCTIONS POUR SOUMETTRE DES RÉFÉRENCES SUPPLÉMENTAIRES

### L'annuaire des personnes à contacter et des documents de référence sur l'apprentissage des adultes

Vous êtes invités à soumettre de brèves références sur des rapports, des programmes de formation, des ouvrages, des vidéos et des CD/ROMs qui traitent des sujets en liaison avec l'apprentissage des adultes, et que vous estimez utiles pour les participants. Vous pouvez envoyer les références par courrier postal ou électronique (voir les instructions ci-dessus), ou les donner à Deborah Whedon du Secrétariat de l'OCDE lors de la conférence à Washington.

Il n'est fait appel à aucune autre source pour préparer cet annuaire. Afin que ce travail soit gérable, nous vous prions de bien vouloir suivre le modèle ci-joint pour soumettre vos références.

***Contenu des références*** (en anglais ou en français)

1. Référence bibliographique pour des documents publiés (titre (pour des titres qui ne sont ni en anglais, ni en français, écrire le titre dans la langue d'origine et une traduction en anglais ou en français) ; date: éditeur et ville ; adresse pour commander, si nécessaire);
2. Coordonnées pour obtenir les documents qui ne sont pas disponibles auprès d'un éditeur (adresse, numéro de téléphone, fax, adresse e-mail, adresse de site Web);
3. Coordonnées de personnes qui peuvent être contactées pour un suivi (adresse, téléphone, fax, adresse e-mail, site Web);
4. Courte description utilisant des mots-clés; indiquant le pays, les sujets abordés, la source des informations (enquête, information sur des projets ou des programmes, informations provenant d'administrations, etc.), la tranche d'âge concernée, les statuts (emploi, chômage, inactif, loisirs, retraite), lieux (domicile, lieu de travail, programme d'apprentissage pour adultes dans des structures ad hoc, etc.)

***Format électronique :*** WORD ou Word Perfect; soumis par e-mail, ou par disquette. Si vous envoyez des disquettes, veuillez s'il vous plaît nous indiquer par messagerie électronique, fax ou téléphone la date à laquelle vous envoyer la disquette.

***A envoyer à :*** Mme. Tarja Tikkanen -- tél +358 14 60 16 98; fax +358 14 60 16 61; e-mail tikkanen@campus.jyu.fi

Copie à Mlle. Deborah Whedon de l'OCDE-- tél +33 145 24 16 51; fax +33 145 24 90 98;
e-mail: Deborah.Whedon@oecd.org -

***Date limite:*** Nous vous prions de bien vouloir envoyer vos références avant le 30 avril 1998.

### *4. Partnership to Promote Active Ageing*

This partnership is involving different levels and types of co-operation and role structures.

Among public authorities, this process involves co-ordination and role distribution among the national education authorities, the schools, the prefectural education authorities and the municipal education authorities. There is an issue of co-operation and co-ordination between the public and private sectors working in the field of education and training for SCs.

As regards the co-ordination among different bodies of lifelong learning in municipalities (cities, towns and villages), the NIER report by Yamamoto reveals that only 5.6% of the municipalities possess such co-ordinating mechanisms and 16.8% of them have future plans to establish. There is also interministerial co-ordination and co-operation. Each level of the public authorities forms partnership with the private sectors -- private enterprises, private cultural centres and associations and clubs. The report also stresses the great potential of NGOs and non-profit organisations, particularly its role as agent to identify consumer needs of SCs (which is usually a low priority for industries) for the promotion of commercial products for SCs.

The final report prepared by a team from NIER (see ref: Yamamoto) on their study on volunteer data banks can give the following concrete example of partnership between different levels of the public authorities.

The Ministry of Education provides funds to different Prefectural Boards of Education, co-ordinates their work through the project promotion committees and the establishment of main objectives and main line of work and strategies. The concrete activities carried out by the Prefectural Boards of Education under this partnership are: identification and registration of users of volunteers; volunteer bank establishment and dissemination of information and consultant service for voluntary activities and volunteers; development of the volunteer curriculum and its dissemination to the concerned bodies; training of volunteers; establishment of volunteer centres for lifelong education.

Referring to the public-private sectors co-operation, the NIER's ISPPD report stresses the public sectors' financial and material support for the establishment of the infrastructure of education and training facilities, but the content and methods of learning and social participation should be largely left in the hands of adult education communities, associations, and industries and individual Scs. Strong "volunteerism" manifested as a motive of learning among Japanese SCs reported in the ICLSE report can also be sustained through this approach.

Finally, the industry-education sectors co-operation. A most important issue relating to this type of co-operation is how to effectively identify needs of SCs consumers. The NIER report argues that marketing by business firms can be aided by lifelong education research which can provide a broadly-based consumer psychology of SCs. A research indicates, for example, that SCs' choice of consumer goods is often influenced by the opinions of their family members. Business investment and production of consumer goods, hardware and software for SCs is growing fast.

It is, in this sense, an advantage for industry sectors, if it is to satisfy a multiple-faceted need of senior citizen consumers -- psychological, economic, social cultural, health, sports, etc., to form an alliance with the lifelong education and training sector.

Looking to the future, the ISPP report recommends: the need for strengthened partnership between the public authorities and individual volunteers and their bodies; the need for volunteer centres (currently the half of the Prefecture is equipped) and the co-ordinator for these centres; networking of voluntary centres; multi-faceted assessment system of volunteer activities; volunteer insurance and remuneration for volunteer work; promotion of volunteer activities at home, school, and local community and the linkage and networking between these agents.

## V. Conclusion

The seriously alarming pressure on government budget for pension benefits and medical costs must be taken seriously in adult education for senior citizens. To reduce this budget pressure, OECD (1998) proposed some measures in economic terms: prolonged retirement scheme (60 to 65); private-sector investment of the state pension funds; reduced pension benefits and reduced contributions; more private contributions from the income of the elderly to their health and nursing care expenses; increased birth rate through better provision of maternity leave, improved child care facilities.

Active ageing scheme, in which individual differences and needs of SCs are fully taken into consideration, is a major option for Japan. The ICLSE and ISPPD studies demonstrated some key factors to be taken into consideration in order for SCs themselves and their partners to effectively support learning and social participation of individual citizens.

The following implications can be drawn, particularly in view of the current Japanese efforts to meet the learning requirement of SCs in the changing world:

- Education and training is an investment which can help to reduce the budgetary pressure on pensions and medical care of the ageing society. Education and training (ET) for SCs involves ET for all about senior citizenship among SCs themselve , all generations, and all partners (government, NGOs, Community Centres, the general public, etc.);
- ET for SCs in Japan needs to be built in their philosophy and practices of lifelong education, which is a major guiding principle of Japanese education: ET about and for senior citizenship can start early in life as an integral part of the human developmental scheme of learning and teaching;
- ET for senior citizenship needs to be focused on the unique need and empowerment of the individual learner: each senior citizen is unique and may aspire for different needs, and when each senior citizen feels empowered with self-efficacy, self-direction, and self- control, ET for SCs become an effective course of action: The policies, support systems and other helping efforts of partners for active senior citizenship can be geared towards satisfying the individual needs of SCs;
- SCs and younger generations need more opportunities to learn about the importance of self-management of free time with and without employment; techniques of how to use and apply multi-media technologies to the benefit of their life, work, leisure and social activities. Developing learning and social networks with the aid of such technologies opens up unlimited horizons of their life;

- While meaningful and enriching partnerships between women and men are essential ingredients of active ageing, gender disparities in learning and social participation of SCs can be narrowed, particularly by encouraging more the participation of female SCs' in higher level of education, employment, professional training, and health management. The child-care facilities should be improved and other institutional obstacles can be removed to make both female and male SCs' learning and social participation easier and more accessible;
- ET about and for health is an important priority concern for active ageing. Self-directed ET for health care starts early in life and can be sustained throughout life. People are more and more convinced by the idea that active learning and social participation do improve our health, which, in turn, make possible more active learning and social participation of SCs;
- Effective and flexible partnership and resource mobilisation efforts among different individuals, bodies of SCs, different public bodies and ministries, between national and local bodies -- is a key to promote acting ageing scheme of the society and any assessment attempts of such partnership and co-ordination must be learner-focused;
- Current practices and innovations designed to promote intergenerational interactive communication and co-operation, pleasurable and mutually beneficial inter-community programs, curricula, and learning opportunities, are key ET issues for active senior citizenship.

Finally, international comparative studies, exchange and dissemination of information is a useful means to promote, stimulate and review innovations and practices of senior citizenship of one's country from a global perspective.

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**Annex I**

1. The survey "International Comparison of Learning and Social Participation by the Elderly" (ICLSE) was commissioned by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture and was conducted during 1995-1997 in Germany, Japan, Korea, Sweden, UK, USA. The project interviewed individuals (age group: 60-79, N=approximately 1,000 in each country) and also surveyed the public bodies responsible for education and training for SCs in the following cities responsible for public policies and facilities for education and training for the elderly.

-Germany: Frankfurt

-Japan: Utsunomiya city

-Korea: Seoul City

-Sweden: Stockholm

-UK: Leicester County

-USA: Phoenix

2. Sampling, interviews and data analysis were conducted by:

-Germany: MARPLAN

-Japan: New Information Centre Co., Ltd (Shin Joho Centre)

-Korea: Korea Survey (Gallop) Polls Ltd

-Sweden: SIFO Research AB

-UK: BMRB International

-USA: Kane, Parsons & Associates, Inc.

3. The report "Integrated Study on Policy and Programme Development for Lifelong Learning in the Ageing Society (ISPPD) was based upon a survey conducted during 1994-1996, commissioned by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture by the lifelong education group of National Institute for Educational Research of Japan (NIER- Chief Researcher Yoshihiro Yamamoto). This research employed interviews with the elderly, individuals and bodies responsible for education and training for the aged, systematic review of statistical data on ageing, policy and project review both in Japan and a selected number of foreign countries, expert meetings.

# Appendix B:

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# HOW ADULTS LEARN

Sponsored jointly by the
Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and
the United States Department of Education

# *L'APPRENTISSAGE DES ADULTES*

*Parrainée conjointement par
l'Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques et
le Ministère de l'éducation des Etats-Unis*

**Washington, DC**

**6-8 April, 1998 / *du 6 au 8 avril 1998***

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